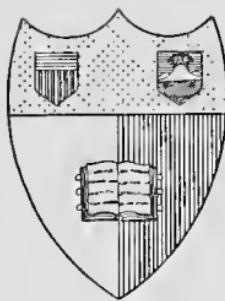


AFRICA: SLAVE OR FREE?



JOHN H. HARRIS

DT
15
H31



Cornell University Library
Ithaca, New York

BOUGHT WITH THE INCOME OF THE

SAGE ENDOWMENT FUND

THE GIFT OF

HENRY W. SAGE

1891

The date shows when this volume was taken.

To renew this book copy the call No. and give to
the librarian.

HOME USE RULES

All Books subject to recall

All borrowers must register in the library to borrow books for home use.

All books must be returned at end of college year for inspection and repairs.

Limited books must be returned within the four week limit and not renewed.

Students must return all books before leaving town. Officers should arrange for the return of books wanted during their absence from town.

Volumes of periodicals and of pamphlets are held in the library as much as possible. For special purposes they are given out for a limited time

Borrowers should not use their library privileges for the benefit of other persons

Books of special value and gift books, when the giver wishes it, are not allowed to circulate.

Readers are asked to report all cases of books marked or mutilated

Do not deface books by marks and writing.

Cornell University Library
DT 15.H31

Africa: slave or free?



3 1924 028 589 111

olm



Cornell University Library

The original of this book is in
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in
the United States on the use of the text.

AFRICA: SLAVE OR FREE?

AFRICA: SLAVE OR FREE?

BY

JOHN H. HARRIS

Author of

Dawn in Darkest Africa (Smith, Elder & Co.,)
Portuguese Slavery: Britain's Dilemma (Methuen & Co., Ltd.)
Germany's Lost Colonial Empire (Simpkiu, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd.)

WITH PREFACE BY

SIR SYDNEY OLIVIER

K.C.M.G., C.B. (Assistant Comptroller & Auditor,
Formerly Governor of Jamaica)

LONDON:
STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT
32 RUSSELL SQUARE, W.C.1

1919

R

CORNELL
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

22
1970
R.

A.43.1480

Город
Санкт-Петербург

PREFACE

BY SIR SYDNEY OLIVIER, *formerly Governor of
Jamaica*

THE war has augmented the sensible importance of Africa and African peoples in the progress—whether it is to be through conflict or through co-operation—of the complex life of our world, and especially that of the British Empire ; since that Empire, according to the figures which Mr. Harris gives on page 20 of this book, controls about one-third of the total population of the continent, and not far from half the total number controlled by all European Powers taken together.

The African peoples—that blended tissue of races, with all its varieties of locally adapted civilizations—in speaking and writing of which we are accustomed to bandy summary generalizations about “The Negro,” “The Black Man,” or more vulgarly “natives” or “niggers”—have both risen several degrees higher above the horizon of our general insular consciousness during the war, and have themselves, considering them and their transplanted blood-relations in America and the West Indies together, learnt a great deal

more than they knew before about the white man, the white man's civilization and his actual as distinguished from his official religion and morals.

Speaking in very broad generalities about this increased confrontation, we may note four important characteristics in the development of mutual relations and attitudes.

First there was, on the part of these African and African-born peoples, a warm and spontaneous manifestation of loyalty, goodwill and affection towards the white States with which they were associated. Naturally courageous and alert to the excitement of fighting, their men eagerly volunteered for enlistment in the Allied armies, and, whether in fighting corps or labour battalions, rendered admirable service and endured their full share of hardships, disablement and loss of life.

And their people who stayed at home sent their modest but not insignificant contributions of work and money.

Though this enthusiasm has met with some disappointments, the experience has, on the whole, I believe, reinforced the goodwill, loyalty and sense of solidarity out of which it sprang.

Secondly—the converse has happened. Many intelligent and sympathetic white men and women have had the opportunity better to realize the qualities and capacities of the African, and there has been much genuine increase of appreciation and respect towards him. Further, an attitude of enhanced goodwill and responsibility towards African races has been officially adopted and proclaimed in the Peace Convention, an attitude

which will be to some extent at least embodied in the mandates to the nations entrusted with new sovereignties in Africa by authority of the Council of the Allies.

So much to the good. Unfortunately there have been correspondingly negative evolutions.

For, thirdly, because the war has thrown many ignorant persons into positions of military or official authority, or has brought narrow-minded or stupid private citizens into contact or competition in various relations with coloured men; and because colour-prejudice is a very common attribute of ignorance or stupidity and a convenient stalking-horse for elementary instincts of self-interest and jealousy, there have been both unjust official discriminations to the prejudice of "coloured" British subjects (some of them I am glad to say, redressed under pressure) and some manifestations and preaching of colour prejudice in industrial centres and in the Press. And in the United States there have been, as was fully to be expected, even more violent manifestations of this noxious social distemper.

And, fourthly, conversely to this, the African has learnt a good deal about the seamy side of the white man. However uprightly and admirably he may have been dealt with by European missionaries, administrators and colonists, and whatever confidence and affection these may have won with him, it has never been possible for him to appraise the value and efficacy of the Christian religion, as the religion of the white man, quite so highly as the missionary and the administrator

would have had him do. And now he has seen the British Government publicly promise self-determination to African peoples in the Peace Settlement and, so far, ignore that promise, having indeed, even before it was made, assigned some of his territories by secret conventions as counters in a deal with its Allies, directly in the face of the inhabitants' imploring petitions. While South Africans were giving their services, and their women at home their poor little contributions towards the task of the war, they have been experiencing the scandalous persecutions on the part of the dominant race in South Africa which Mr. Scully has set out with such indisputable authority in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1919, whilst others have experienced the injustice and cruelty with which coloured men have been dealt with in connection with riots at Liverpool and elsewhere. And with regard to that excess of animalism that so often is sniggeringly imputed to them as a danger to white communities, they have encountered in our camps, our streets, our parks, and our Law Courts, abundant material for at least a defensible judgment that white men and white women are fully as erotic as their own people and much more unrestrainedly and openly licentious.

Whilst, therefore, the white and the coloured peoples of our Commonwealth have been brought nearer together for co-operation by the increase of mutual recognition and appreciation, and the black man's appreciation of the military efficiency of the white has probably been enhanced, they have also been brought nearer together by

the enlightening education and discipline which numbers of Africans have received, and by a certain amount of disillusionment of the latter as to the boasted superiorities of the white man. I do not wish to over-emphasize this factor, but it exists, and it will be a mistake to ignore it. There has been a certain advance towards equality and to a more outspoken belief in and claim to equality.

If the negro stock, including that most ancient artistic race of the Western World, the Bushmen, whose residue finally was destroyed by South African white men, was driven, in primitive ages, by the more terrible and determined races, out of the Mediterranean lands and away into the jungles and swamps and deserts of Africa, because they were not so fierce or so clever, or because (believing with Mr. W. B. Yeats, that idleness is the divinely appointed reward of toil) they were lazier, and preferred to find their food where nature produced it abundantly to winning it by hunting or cultivation—they are not incapable of learning; and in an age in which education can aid their quick reasoning faculty and they have not to depend in competition merely on unscrupulous force, they are beginning to shape their own course for progress and to refuse to be taken solely at the white man's valuation of them as fighters or labourers.

There has grown up during the war, and there is progressively shaping itself, a greater common consciousness and determination among Africans as to the future and the rights of African races. Some white men fear this, and would seek to hold

it in check. The tradition of British statesmanship is to welcome and encourage it ; and this policy of welcome and encouragement is implicit in the professions made on behalf of Great Britain and America in the preliminaries of the Peace Settlement.

But such statesmanship and its ideals have to plough their way against heavy obstruction from prejudice and material interests, or rather from the short-sighted self-interest of those who would deal with Africa and the African as mere land and labour force to be employed for their own enrichment or sustenance. Thus we see in South Africa the deliberate adoption or advocacy of a policy aimed at excluding the native from all skilled occupations and binding him on the land from which he has been dispossessed as a wage labourer and tenant at will. Thus we have British settlers in East Africa advocating the reduction of native reserves in order, admittedly, to force natives to labour on their plantations. It is encouraging to hear, on the other hand, that the American Federation of Labour has recently met the increasing influx of coloured workers into the industrial cities of more northerly states, by admitting them to the ranks of skilled workers on condition of their joining trade unions and not permitting themselves to be used to undersell white labour. *E pur si muove.*

At such a time such a book as this of Mr. Harris is of peculiar value and interest. Not only because problems of African administration, land tenure and labour are bound to come far closer

into the preoccupations of many of us than ever before, as a result of the events of the war, and during the period of reconstruction and reshaping that the coming generation has to deal with, but because it is of essential importance and value to humanity on the highest grounds that the dominant European races should come to apprehend more than they do of the true humanity of such peoples, hitherto unrealized and largely passive, as the African and the Russian.

“What,” as Mr. Harris asks in his Foreword, “is the seductive element in this continent and people which lures men and women on and ever on until at last they gladly lay themselves down in final sacrifice on the beloved altar of the African continent ?”

Why do the white men who devote their lives to the welfare of African people do so ? It is not because they are fascinated, against critical reason, by black skins, thick lips, and woolly hair, or other characteristics in which nature and evolution appear to European æsthetics to have played bad jokes with some African forms of humanity—the reason is simple and positive—it is that those who have to do, disinterestedly, with the negroid races come to love them—find them above the average rich and responsive and sympathetic in some of the most characteristic and delicate qualities of essential human nature. The negro is, of course, very far behind many other peoples in wide fields of human florescence, but in some of the qualities that are best to live with he is on the average far ahead of the average

industrialized European. He is singularly patient and forgiving, very delicately sensitive in all matters of courtesy, acutely logical, warmly sociable, humorous and kindly; and in any physical difficulty or danger a most devoted, brave and unwearied comrade.

Moreover, he is deeply and fundamentally religious, and his religious and affectional temperament responds exceptionally to the Christian formula. Mr. Harris briefly surveys the controversy whether Islam or Christianity is the better faith for the negro world. Islam is a fine synthesis; it is educational and usefully disciplinary; but it was not for nothing that Christian Europe threw itself into the Crusades. Armenian massacres are congenial to Islam: the negro has capacity enough for mad cruelty in his animal nature; but he knows quite well that his humane nature is better; and Christianity answers to this. As between Islam and Christianity, therefore, for the negroid African, I do not think that any intelligent man, who is himself religious and knows what religion is, can doubt for a moment which is the more suitable for proselytizing or encouragement.

Many years ago, when I first joined the Colonial Office, my friend Sidney Webb, with whom, as a Resident Clerk, I shared the decoding of African telegrams, used to quote a text that has always stuck in my mind, and often recurs when I investigate things that are going on in Africa:—"The dark places of the earth are full of cruelty."

No matter how high an opinion we may entertain of our fellow-subjects who colonize and

govern these dark places, they are—they are at this moment—"full of cruelty!" It is always cropping up; only light, such as this of Mr. Harris' book, can keep it in check. Wherever, in a mixed community, you have a privileged class in command of the government of people whom they employ as workers, you will have exploitation and oppressive laws to enforce it.

Democracy is our remedy in Europe. Political Democracy of our form is not yet practicable for these African communities; though some are developing towards it. In the meantime the British Government alone can enforce just treatment of the subordinate races. And the British Government is sometimes a good deal embarrassed by the constitutional rights of responsible Governments or by the resistance of interests which have grown up under their sanction, and cannot always take a quite satisfactory line in such matters. One most unfortunate result of such impotence or nonchalance is that Bantu peoples, who are commonly reputed in England to be the finest of the negroid African races, and whose endowments of energy and ability are unquestionable, are being, under the authority of British power, steadily pressed into and bound down in a position less favourable for any development than that of negro or negroid races in West African Crown Colonies, in Nigeria, or in the French Possessions—and far less favourable than that of British or French West Indians of African race or descent. It is rapidly being made impossible for South African natives outside of the Cape Colony either

to attain to any substantial position as stock-farmers or planters, to rise out of the ranks of common labourers into any skilled trade, or even as common labourers to maintain their wives and children in homes of their own.

Mr. Harris calls attention particularly to the question of land policy in this aspect. I need not here do more than invite careful attention to the conditions which he points out as at present in operation and springing up. Important as land questions are in European and American communities, they are by far the most crucial matter in the future of African civilization. Labour, political and social problems loom dark in Africa, but at the base of the right solution lies secure native property in the land. It matters little whether the possession of the land be individual, communal, or collective—everything depends upon security.

I understand that one of the objects Mr. Harris has had in writing this book is that of laying before Missionary and other students the elementary conditions of Administration, Commerce, and Education in Africa, and I venture to repeat with confidence what Lord Cromer said in 1912: "It cannot but be an advantage, more especially now that attention is being more and more drawn to African affairs, that the Government, Parliament, and the general public should learn what one so eminently qualified as Mr. Harris to instruct them in the facts of the case has to say on this subject."*

SYDNEY OLIVIER.

* *Dawn in Darkest Africa.* By the same Author. Smith Elder.

CONTENTS

PART I

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	AFRICA AND HER PEOPLE	3
II.	POLITICAL DISTRIBUTION	14
III.	THE PRODUCTS OF AFRICA—VEGETABLE	25
IV.	THE PRODUCTS OF AFRICA—MINERALS	42

PART II

I.	INDIGENOUS AFRICAN LABOUR	59
II.	MODERN SLAVERY	72
III.	MODERN SLAVERY (PORTUGUESE)	87
IV.	INDIAN IMMIGRATION	94

PART III

I.	THE AFRICAN AND HIS LAND	107
II.	TOPICAL AND SEMI-TROPICAL LANDS	121

PART IV

I.	RACIAL CONTACT—THE SALE OF ALCOHOL	145
II.	SOCIAL CONTACT—POLYGAMY AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SEXES	154

PART V

I.	AFRICAN EDUCATION	171
II.	INDUSTRIAL MISSIONS	188
III.	RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA	202
IV.	CRITICS OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS	215

PART VI

AFRICA OF TO-MORROW—THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS	229
---	-----

FOREWORD

WHY does Mary Kingsley say “Africa kills all her lovers”? What is the seductive element in this continent and in its people which lures men and women on and ever on until at last they gladly lay themselves down in final sacrifice upon the beloved altar of the African Continent?

Back they go, these men and women who have once been bitten by Africa, back in thought and action from every walk in life—the administrator, the traveller, the missionary, and the merchant; sunburnt men, pale-faced women, some with indifferent nerves, others straight from the surgeon’s operating room, young, middle-aged, and grey-haired, back they go—to what? To face again the agonies of fever, malodorous swamps, indifferent food, the perils of storm and flood, torments by day and night from myriads of insects, burning heat, chilly mist, and the monotony of a never-varying loneliness. Ask them why they go and they will tell you that neither storm, nor peril, nor sickness, nor death itself, shall separate them from the land and people they love. This burning passion may be incomprehensible, but its real and abiding strength strikes the questioner dumb.

Sir Douglas . . . has left his mark as the Governor of U——land ; bitten by Africa, he rose to his high position partly through ability, but more because of his intense attachment to his African work ; his pay was a mere pittance, his physique cried out not for Africa's hot plains and swampy deltas, but for the health-restoring and quiet influence of Davos. A visit to England led to the offer of a lucrative directorship and the comparative rest and comfort which the proffered position would provide. Sir Douglas . . . scorned the thought, back to Africa he went, back to a modest pay, and to the fever which soon took another life for Africa.

Mary Kingsley, traveller and scientist, ordered a period of rest and change, soon fell victim to the lure of Africa, and seeking advice was told :

“ When you have made up your mind to go to West Africa, the very best thing you can do is to get it unmade again and go to Scotland instead ; but if your intelligence is not strong enough to do so, abstain from exposing yourself to the direct rays of the sun, take 4 grains of quinine every day for a fortnight before you reach the Rivers, and get some introductions to the Wesleyans ; they are the only people on the coast who have got a hearse with feathers.”*

Mary Kingsley went, she saw and was completely conquered ; never again a free agent, she became the bondslave of Africa and paid, in her

* *Travels in West Africa.* Macmillan.

38th year, the final penalty, receiving as one permanent reward the honour of a Society founded in her name—The African Society.

David Livingstone, Africa's greatest missionary, lured into the heart of the continent, criticized and denounced for his folly in surrendering mind and body to the seductive task of exploring the secrets of Africa, refused to abandon his quest. Though his physical system had broken down, though his body had become little more than a physical focus for African disease, he refused even the exalted appeal of his beloved Queen to rest, if but for a few months in the homeland. David Livingstone went on until the very natives could only carry the sun-dried remains of his body to the coast, leaving his heart buried in and his soul still hovering over Central Africa.

Thus does Africa capture and enthrall her lovers—Administrator, Missionary and Traveller.

PART I

- I. AFRICA AND HER PEOPLE.
- II. POLITICAL DISTRIBUTION.
- III. THE PRODUCTS OF AFRICA—VEGETABLE.
- IV. THE PRODUCTS OF AFRICA—GOLD AND PRECIOUS STONES.

CHAPTER I

AFRICA AND HER PEOPLE

THE great pear-shaped continent, hanging like a colossal pendant from the northern and eastern sister continents of Europe and Asia, measures over 11,900,000 square miles, and is occupied by nearly 120,000,000 of people. The bald statement that Africa covers 11,900,000 square miles of the earth's surface conveys little to most of us, but when it is remembered that this represents an area seven times the size of India and nearly one hundred times the size of the United Kingdom or sixty times the size of Germany before the war, the mind is impressed with the vastness of the country. Africa's greatest need is population, for the general density is less than 12 persons per square mile as compared with 360 per square mile of the British Isles and 300 per square mile of Germany.

The African coastal features are minus the Archipelagoes which characterize every other continent, but the interior is probably more capable of varied, lucrative and self-contained industry than either of the other undeveloped continents, South America, Asia or Australia. It is true that Africa embraces the Sahara and Kalahari deserts,

but she possesses within conceivable engineering reach the never failing and super-abundant waters of the Nile, the Niger, the Zambesi and the Congo, only waiting the coming day when man will harness waste waters to waste land and thereby increase the productivity of both land and water. Africa also has her inland seas—the great lakes, inside which, from point of size, could be placed the British Isles. She has, too, her lofty mountain ranges of the Atlas stretching from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean, the Drakensberg of Basutoland, the towering peaks of Kenia, Kilimanjaro, Ruwenzori in East Africa, and the snow-capped Cameroon mountain in the west.

The vast Equatorial regions are forest-clad with countless millions of every species of woods, soft and hard, scented and malodorous, intertwined with undergrowth which in one part binds tree trunk to tree trunk, and thereby effectively denies passage to all but the most intrepid and determined, whilst in other parts the spreading viney binds the trees top to top in a sort of canopy excluding light and sun from man and beast. North and South of the forests and marshes of the tropics roll vast plains over which man and beast still roam in the solitude and safety of past centuries.

But the people, the 100,000,000 to 120,000,000 of Africans, what of these? The Bantu tribes of the tropics and the South, the Bushmen and Hottentots of the far South-West, the Fulani and Haussa of West Africa, the Negroid races, the Hamitic and Semitic peoples of the North and the Somalis of

the North-East? These millions are “Pagan,” Mohammedan, and Christian in religion, and in language are divided by Keane* into the six main groups of :

1. The Semitic family, along the north coast and in Abyssinia.
2. The Hamitic family, mainly in the Sahara, Egypt, Galla, and Somali Land.
3. The Fulah and Nuba groups, in western, central, and eastern Sudan.
4. The Negro systems, in western and central Sudan, Upper Guinea, and the Upper Nile regions.
5. The Bantu family, everywhere south of about 6° N. lat., except in the Hottentot domain.
6. The Hottentot group, in the extreme south-western corner, from the tropic of Capricorn to the Cape.

There is also a further group :

7. The Malayo-Polynesian family, in Madagascar.

To the thoughtless European, these millions are but “Lazy Niggers,” too often the variant “Damned Nigger”; but to those who are prepared to apply the seeing eye to the native eye, the hearing ear to the native ear, sympathetic mind to African mind, a new world is revealed. All the characteristics of a child race are there; the jolly laugh, the incisive quip, and the never-failing repartee, coupled with prodigal hospitality

* *Africa*. Keith Johnston (Stanford).

whose denomination is literally “All that I have is thine.” Deceit and low cunning of the vicious type are absent, but if you lend the African a hammer or a saw he will “teef” your screws and nails, a tendency arising more from the communal instinct of brotherhood than from deliberate wrong-doing. The African giving a bunch of bananas to his guest would expect to supply the pot for cooking, and he not unnaturally looks to the white to treat him upon a similar principle.

It was Mr. Consul Hopkins who, in a letter to Stanley in 1873, wrote :

“ I ought to hate Sambo—I know him well. He has sold me, in the person of my own servants, over and over again ; he has dropped my best tumblers, and smashed my best looking-glass, dropped grease on my best pants, and used my hair-brushes, drank my liqueur, and stolen my money, and I am eternally threatening to have his life, but don’t—because, somehow or other, I like him, and he likes me, and we get along amazingly well.”

But although the buoyancy of youth is everywhere characteristic of the African, none can be more dignified and sagacious than the Chiefs and Elders. Watch them surrounded by Council and tribes, eyes a-twinkle perhaps, but never a word, a gesture, or a movement that would weaken authority or lower the dignity of these primitive but stately chieftain rulers of Africa. But, it may be asked, “ do they never unbend ? ” They do,

but that very unbending is with surpassing dignity. The trial of great cases in national "pala-vers" frequently leads to speeches—more correctly veritable orations delivered with poetic native diction ; the Chief will rise slowly to his feet and commence his speech first in a low cadence and then a rising and falling inflection, soon he warms to his subject and proceeds to illustrate it by historic fact, striking figure, or captivating anecdote ; onward he will sweep with flowing language, period upon period, gesture following gesture, until both Chief and audience rock and sway under the magnetic influence of passionate yet dignified eloquence. What matters time !—half-hour, an hour, an hour and a half, two hours, and the tribal orator, body now running streams of perspiration, but eye undimmed, gesture unflagging, language rich in idiom and rhythmic to the ear, the peroration is delivered to an audience now intoxicated with delight and breaking into acclamations loud and long as the chieftain orator with dignity gives place to his opponent.

The "lazy nigger" theory, the stock argument of the exploiter, has long been an exploded myth to those who prefer facts to prejudice ; it is true, of course, that African labourers are as capable of malingering as any other section of the world's labour forces, but to argue from a superficial appearance that the African is any more indolent than the ordinary run of humanity is happily a vanishing absurdity.

One of the most exhaustive Commissions ever held in Africa was the Lagden Commission of

Inquiry into native conditions in South Africa—an inquiry which occupied three years. What was the finding of the Lagden Commission upon this point ?

“ The theory that the South African natives are hopelessly indolent may be dismissed as being not in accordance with the facts. Even the simple wants of the Native population cannot be supplied without some degree of exertion. The population of 4,652,662 has to derive its sustenance from a soil which is not everywhere fertile, and the Native agriculturist has to contend with the same drawbacks of drought and pestilence that beset the European farmer. The labour of tilling the soil, weeding and reaping is shared, but is by no means exclusively performed by the Native women ; and the representation of the Native living at his own village a lazy and luxurious life, supported by his wife or wives, is misleading.”*

Nearer the Equatorial line a similar inquiry, made in Rhodesia in 1911, produced the following conclusion :

“ It is frequently urged that native males lead an idle life at their kraals. This is not borne out by the evidence which we have received. On the contrary, they appear to do the bulk of the heavy work, and the woman is

*Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-5.
Par. 573.

not the slave which she is so frequently alleged to be.”*

It is the same story throughout Africa; for example, along the West Coast, German white effort, and in British territory, native effort have been for years competing for the premier position in cocoa production. The natives of the British Gold Coast have, economically speaking, smitten the German white planters hip and thigh, for during the eight years from 1904-12 German industry only increased its output three-and-a-half times, whilst British West Africans increased their output eight times!

To see the African at the native industries handed down to him by his father is to convince the sympathetic onlooker of his latent energy. That long line of carriers, each man with $\frac{1}{2}$ -cwt. box or bale upon his head, has tramped steadily four hours a day for a fortnight—up hill, down dale, across fragile swaying bridges, through turbid streams; that sinuous line of 500 men has transported 250 cwts. of merchandise without ever dropping a single case. Africa without the carrier is even to-day unthinkable—civilization has laid down plantations, built span bridges, constructed hundreds of miles of railway, metalled thousands of miles of roadway, but it is literally true that this stupendous transformation was accomplished primarily upon the woolly pate of the sons of Africa. During the Anglo-Belgian-

* Southern Rhodesia Report of the Native Affairs Committee of Inquiry, 1910-11.

French conquest of the Cameroons, a single body of troops required an auxiliary carrier force of 6,000 men !

One of the delights of African travel is canoeing. Despite the mosquitos in the evening and the " midges " by the million during the day, insidious but venomous attacks at all hours by the tsetse fly, and miasma all the time, the joy of whirling hour after hour through the rushing waters to the continuous " dip, dip " of forty paddlers, and the rhythmic song of the " coach " and the even beat of the " tom-tom," is an experience only possible in primitive Africa. This delight to the white man spells for the African an unbroken strain of eight hours' paddling for days on end, which dwarfs to pigmy proportions the relatively comfortable exercise of the Oxford and Cambridge boat race.

The assumption of " laziness " in the African is generally due to a lofty superiority not unrelated to ignorance. The African, travelling along a forest path, followed by his wife (or wives), children, and other dependents, gives the impression of callous indifference ; the critic sees him striding forward without any share of the family burden, for he seldom carries more than a light spear, bow and arrow, or club, while behind him the women folk are probably heavily weighted with baskets of food on their backs and not infrequently a child in their arms, whilst even tiny tots have to carry household goods. They travel thus for miles—the grown men and sturdy youths never for one moment offering to share the loads !

For a year or two the writer had watched this custom with growing indignation, until one day he decided to teach "my lord and master" a lesson in honest work if not courtesy! Whilst tramping the forest of Central Africa on a hot day there appeared a heavily burdened file of women wending their way along. The whole file was ordered to stop, the burdens were lifted from the tired women and girls and placed upon the backs of the sturdy, unencumbered men, but lo! the women, like a pack of furies, turned gesticulating and loud of voice upon the writer: "Who now will protect us from our enemies—man, beast and snake—that lurk in every tuft of grass, every forest bush and every tree? Our men carrying loads will be surprised, overcome, and destroyed, and then will come the turn of the children. Oh! what fools are white men!" In a flash the wisdom of this native custom was revealed; abashed and ashamed, the author renewed a forgotten vow never to condemn a native custom without first making exhaustive inquiry.

In song and dance, as a carrier or paddler, or even in mortal combat, the African is the embodiment of towering energy. In the dance every rhythmic movement is punctuated by the loud "Ha! Ha!" and a stamping of feet that makes the very earth resound; forest axes ring loud as they fall upon the mighty tree trunk to unending and primitive song, whilst through the primeval forest echo calls to echo; the canoe is driven forward by vigorous dipping of the blades in

unison with the rise and fall of the singing "coach"; the whole line of carriers, each heavily laden, moves with swinging stride and perfect harmony in step to the tune of the file-leader, who occasionally joins in the chorus of song. Thus does Africa give the lie to the lazy nigger theory.

But in sickness, loss of liberty, and in death the African goes all to pieces. It is because loss of personal liberty and sickness walk hand in hand with the dread spectre of death that the African suffers collapse upon the very approach of either. Death is not a release to the African, it is an ever-present terror; the creaking of a beam, the night-cry of the owl in the forest, the ripple of a stream, the rustle of leaves upon the trees, are but too often the solemn warning of departed spirits summoning the listener to the land without hope, the land in which there are many evil but few angel spirits.

Watch the African in sickness, in vain are appeals and words of encouragement, for he believes himself stricken unto death, and being without hope for this world or the next exhibits a capacity for dying which is the despair of science. Watch the African, too, in the presence of approaching death—relatives and friends crowd around, unwashed, dishevelled, fasting, eyes staring, lips compressed, all awaiting death's unfailing signal—that last tear drop. Watch them closely, for upon that dread signal the air is instantly pierced with one terrible shriek; then listen to the cry as it spreads from hut to hut until the whole village is filled with that awesome death wail. Watch

them again in the Kasai basin, where, at that terrible cry, men rush forward and instantly snatch the body from the bed and carry it forth from the dwelling of man lest death shall smite another.

Faith and Hope in a new and better world, both here and hereafter, means in very truth Life Eternal to the African race.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL DISTRIBUTION

THE administration of Africa falls roughly into three main groups—Self-Governing Territories, Crown Colonies, Protectorates and Spheres of Influence ; and within this threefold category can be placed every territory in the continent.

The three self-governing territories at the present time are the Union of South Africa, Liberia, and Abyssinia.

The Union Government of South Africa was set up in 1909 by virtue of the South Africa Act,* whereby the four Provinces—Cape Colony, Transvaal, Orange River Colony and Natal—were placed under the Executive Government of a free Parliament and a Governor-General representing the British Crown. Parliament is composed of a Senate and a House of Assembly, under which constitution a Senator must be a British subject of European descent, whilst no actual voter in Cape Colony can be disqualified by reason of colour. Thus while the native and coloured people of the Cape of Good Hope possess restricted franchise under this constitution, those of the other provinces possess to-day no effective voice

* Cd. 7508. August, 1914.

in controlling their own destinies. There is some probability that this question will arise in an acute form this year,* when Section 10 of the Act of Union seems to imply the intention, and certainly gives the right, of raising the question of amending the constitution. These four provinces of South Africa are under the Union Government of which General Botha is the first Premier and Lord Buxton the Imperial Representative, governing a white or tan-coloured population of 1,276,000 and a coloured population, which, including a large number of British-Indian subjects, totals nearly 6,000,000 !

Liberia can only at the best be described as an “ experiment,” and not a very happy experiment either, in a Free Negro Republic. Just a century ago good men in Europe and America conceived the idea of founding in Africa herself a Republic where, unmolested, the freed slave should be given an opportunity to work out his own salvation in the land of his origin. In 1822 the first settlement was established, close to the present capital, Monrovia ; but it was not until 1847 that the constitution was formally approved as the “ Free and Independent Republic of Liberia.” During the intervening century the immigrant negro population has grown to about 10,000, and a Government has been evolved under a President, a Vice-President, and a Council of six members, responsible to Parliament composed of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Financially the country has never prospered,

and to-day Liberia has, figuratively speaking, "got the brokers in." The United States, in 1910, assumed financial and other liabilities, and in 1912 an international loan of £500,000 was raised and secured by Customs under an American controller, whilst the patronage of appointing certain military and civil officials rests with the President of the United States of America.

Liberia, as large as Ireland and Wales together and inhabited by 2,000,000 of natives, possesses internal resources of enormous potential value, for the virgin forests abound in mahogany and scented woods, gums, wild rubber and vegetable oils ; nevertheless, Liberia to-day is economically the Liberia of twenty-five years ago. Eastward, westward, and southward neighbouring territories have shown healthy economic expansion, whilst Liberia has drifted ever nearer to bankruptcy and chaos, with the inevitable consequence of a truncated civil service, with salaries either overdue or not paid at all. Other tribes in neighbouring lands have enjoyed educational facilities denied to the Liberians, whilst the perpetual conflict between the 10,000 American negroes and the 2,000,000 indigenous people has gravely shaken the faith of the best friends of the Liberian Republic and involved the unhappy people of the hinterland in a nightmare of oppression and suffering. The great needs of Liberia are—a strong and efficient Government, financial stability resting upon peaceful administration, the open door for commercial activity unfettered by direct or indirect "considerations," and, finally, an educa-

tional system which would embrace not merely Liberians but the native races of the territory.

Abyssinia, the ancient Empire of Ethiopia, more than twice the size of Germany, is occupied by, it is estimated, 6,000,000 of people devoted mainly to the pastoral occupations of their forefathers. Industrial effort is expressed in terms of oxen, sheep, goats, horses and donkeys, with a small export of ivory and coffee. If Abyssinia could overcome difficulties of transport the population would contribute to the supply of raw material by landing in Europe large quantities of raw cotton something under 1s. per lb., and even larger supplies of the purest white fibre in the world at £16 per ton.

The Government of Abyssinia includes the Kingdoms of Tigre, Amharra, Shoa, Haria, and portions both of Galla and Somali, which territories were ruled until 1913 by the picturesque and autocratic Menelik, assisted by a Council composed nominally of the principal Rases. Menelik, during the twenty-four years of his rule as Negus Negust (King of Kings), introduced many reforms upon the model of civilized governments, including ministers of justice, finance, commerce, war and foreign affairs, supported by a regular army of 150,000 mounted troops with a small artillery force. This Empire, ruled by the "King of Kings," adheres to the Christian faith accepted by the people over 1,500 years ago. The spiritual welfare of the Abyssinians is entrusted to about 100,000 ecclesiastics under the supreme head—the Abuna, who must always be of Coptic

persuasion, appointed and consecrated by the Patriarch of Alexandria. The Emperor Menelik endeavoured, in 1907, to secure the education of his people and issued a decree enjoining compulsory education for all males over the age of 12, but with other matters in Abyssinia education awaits the inspiring energy of the "Reformer."

Whilst Abyssinia is wholly free and independent, Great Britain, France and Italy are collectively pledged to preserve the integrity of the Empire, and thus may be regarded as coming so near to a "Sphere of Influence" that, in political affairs, the encroachment of any fourth Power would in all probability be construed as "an unfriendly act"!

Next in order to these Self-Governing territories come the Crown Colonies and Protectorates, of which there are :

<i>French.</i>	<i>British.</i>
Algeria.	Bechuanaland.
Sahara.	Basutoland.
Tunis	East Africa and Uganda.
Senegal and Niger.	Egypt and Sudan.
Guinea Coast.	Gambia.
Ivory Coast.	Gold Coast and Ashanti.
Dahomey.	Nigeria.
Mauritania.	Nyasaland.
Congo.	Rhodesia.
Somaliland.	Sierra Leone.
	Somaliland.
	Zanzibar.

<i>Ex-German.</i>	<i>Belgian.</i>
Cameroons.	Congo.
German South West.	<i>Italian.</i>
East Africa.	Eritrea.
Togoland.	Somaliland.
	Tripoli.

<i>Portuguese.</i>	<i>Spanish.</i>
Angola.	Guinea Coast—Muni.
East Africa.	Islands—
Guinea.	Fernando Po.
Cape Verde Islands.	Annabon.
St. Thome and Prin- cipe (Islands).	Corisco.
	Great Elobi.
	Little Elobi.

Easily first in territorial responsibility comes France, for the Republic has assumed responsibility for over 4,000,000 square miles of African territory, apart from the recently acquired control over Morocco. Next to France comes Great Britain, with 2,800,000 square miles of territory under direct Crown control, which, with 473,000 square miles in South Africa, makes a total of over 3,000,000 square miles under the influence of the British flag. Prior to the outbreak of war, Germany, next to France and Great Britain, held sway over the largest area in Africa, namely, 1,130,000 square miles. Belgium followed Germany, with over 900,000 square miles of Congo territory. Portugal came next, with 793,000 square miles, whilst Italy, as a result of her break with Turkey in 1911, increased her control over

Africa from 200,000 to 600,000 square miles. Spain has the smallest measure of territorial responsibility, for apart from her Moroccan interest her total possessions are less than 90,000 square miles.

The approximate populations of these territories in regions under effective administration, known for the most part and estimated in others, is as follows : Under British control, 35,000,000 ; French, 25,000,000 ; ex-German, 12,000,000 ; Belgian, 10,000,000 ; Portuguese, 8,000,000 ; Italian, 1,000,000 ; Spanish, 200,000.

Under British Crown Government	29,000,000
,, Union of South Africa	6,000,000
,, French Government	... 25,000,000
,, German Government (prior to the outbreak of war)	... 12,000,000
,, Belgian Government	... 10,000,000
,, Portuguese	... 8,000,000
,, Liberian	... 2,000,000
,, Italian	... 1,000,000
,, Spanish	... 200,000
,, Abyssinian	... 6,000,000

It is only under British rule that any part of Africa has attained to self-government, namely, South Africa, whilst it is equally true that in every territory where white executive government obtains, a larger measure of native co-operation is granted in British than in that under the territorial control of any other European Power. There is, however, one quite peculiar feature in French government which is a marked advance

upon anything which even Great Britain has attained, namely, direct representation from the Colonies and Dependencies in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies. Senegal and Guinea each have a deputy, whilst almost every other political division has a representative or representatives on the "Conseil Superior des Colonies." The representative for Senegal is a full-blooded Jollof.

It is universally admitted that the British system of colonial administration is, on the whole, the most highly organized, and yet the most elastic in the African continent, and to a very considerable extent other nations have modelled their forms of administration upon it. The popular theory is that all territory and all peoples under the British flag are British subjects! But in Africa quite the larger part of such territory is not British, neither are the majority of the inhabitants British subjects.

The broad distinction in Britain's Colonial Commonwealth is that of (1) Dominions, (2) Dependencies. In the Dominions are included all those territories which have been formally annexed by the British Crown and possess elective legislatures controlled by the Crown in the person of a Governor or Governor-General. In Africa the only Dominion is, of course, that of the Union territories, created a Self-Governing Colony by the King in Council in 1909.

Next in order come the Crown Colonies whose administration is under the complete and effective control of the Crown. The Governor has large

powers vested in him, and he is supported in his task by a Legislative Council composed of official and nominated members. In every Crown Colony the official element outnumbers the "nominated" members, and thus the Governor can always rely upon a majority for any measure he may place before the Legislative Council. Nigeria is a good illustration of this system of government. The Governor of Nigeria is assisted by an Executive and an advisory and deliberative Council. The Council is composed of (1) the official Executive ; (2) a member of the local Chamber of Commerce ; (3) a member of the Chamber of Mines ; (4) four nominated Europeans ; (5) six nominated native members. This Council is only advisory and possesses no legislative or executive authority.

Probably the best definition of the Dependencies is that provided by Lord Halsbury :

"The expression 'dependencies' is used to signify places which have not been formally annexed to the British dominions, and are, therefore, strictly speaking, foreign territories, but which are practically governed by Great Britain, and by her represented in any relations that may arise towards the other foreign countries. Most of them are 'protectorates,' that is, territories placed under the protection of the British sovereign generally by treaty with the native rulers or Chiefs."*

The Protectorates are not British territory, nor are the inhabitants British subjects ; but any

* *The Laws of England.* The Earl of Halsbury. Vol. x, page 503.

interference by another Power with the internal affairs of the Protectorates would not be tolerated by Great Britain. Most of the Protectorates are adjacent to a British colony and are, in effect, controlled by the administrative authority of the Crown Colony : Sierra Leone, the Gambia, and the Gold Coast are illustrations of this relationship. The Colony of the Gambia measures only 70 square miles, whilst the Protectorate measures 4,500 square miles. The Gold Coast Colony covers 24,000 square miles, whilst the Colony, the Protectorate of Ashanti and the Northern Territories cover together nearly 80,000 square miles. The Colony of Sierra Leone measures 4,000 square miles, and the Protectorate 27,000 square miles.

The Government of the Protectorates varies considerably according to local conditions. In Uganda the supreme administrative authority is the Commissioner, whilst the five administrative provinces are ruled by the Paramounts. Bechuanaland is controlled by a Resident under the High Commissioner of South Africa. Southern Rhodesia is governed by a Legislative Council partly nominated and partly elected.

East Africa is another Protectorate governed by a Legislative Council with power to legislate by Ordinance. Basutoland and Swaziland are controlled by Resident Commissioners, although large powers of native government are retained by the native chiefs and Council.

The period of reconstruction through which the British Commonwealth is now passing must in-

clude closer union with these territories. The millions of inhabitants in the Protectorates will demand with increasing force and undeniable justice either a fuller share in the government of their own countries or alternately definite incorporation in the British Commonwealth as British subjects with potentially all the rights of British citizenship. Public opinion in Europe and America will watch very closely the lead of Britain at this period of her evolution, because controlling as she does the largest part of the population in the continent and being admittedly in advance of all other Governments, the experience of the territories and practice of statesmen will be used as a foundation upon which to erect administrative and political reforms in the French, German, Portuguese, Belgian, and Italian Dependencies of the African Continent.

L

CHAPTER III

THE PRODUCTS OF AFRICA—VEGETABLE

THE products of Africa fall into the two main categories of vegetable and mineral wealth—(a) vegetable oils, fibres and gums ; (b) gold and precious stones. From the days of Kings David, Solomon and Pharoah Necho the yellow oils and golden ores of Africa have enriched the Egyptian, Asiatic and European peoples ; but the winning of the gold and the extracting of oils and gums have spelt for the African servitude, oppression, torture and bloodshed. Future historians may be able to decide whether the crime or the folly of such destruction of human life was the greater sin. However great the *crime* of slavery, cruelty and torture, whereby millions of Africans have perished, no bounds can be set to the monumental *folly* of the white races which has wiped out of existence millions of natives whose hands alone can blast the rock for gold, climb the trees for oil, or garner the harvests of fibre for the comfort of the human race. But of this later.

First amongst the trees of Africa is the oil palm, first in beauty, first in utility, and first in fertility. Queen of forest and plain, the *Elaeis guineensis* fascinates the traveller she so loves to befriend—

her graceful fronds like some fluttering banner greet him from the hill-top, she stands friendly sentinel on the outskirts of the native village, her graceful beauty is equalled by her overflowing bounty. Is the traveller athirst and weary?—her luxurious foliage gives him shelter, whilst from her tree trunk pours forth a draught of foaming wine. Is the traveller without meat?—then her nut oil and palm cabbage provide a meal fit for a sylvan prince. What will you—merchant, traveller, native?—a loin cloth, a tool, a mat, a roof, a wall, a house, a fortune, or a sylvan picture?—these and more are to be found in the oil palm of West Africa.

Second only to the oil palm in fertility, if not in charm, is the cocoanut palm, growing east and west of Africa within the influence of sea air. These two trees—the oil palm and the cocoanut palm—have much in common; they both provide food, drink and shelter for the native inhabitants and nut butter for the white races, and to a large extent they are both self-supporting. The screeching grey parrot ravenously pecking at the oil palm fruit tears the nut from the matrix and, carrying it to the recesses of the forest or the seclusion of the plain, consumes the oily fibre and leaves the kernel to germinate and add yet another palm to the countless millions in West Africa. The cocoanut palm, thriving only within the influence of sea air, casts her ripe nuts upon the bosom of tidal waters and ever-flowing currents, which bear the seed to every point of the local compass, there to strike root and spring up in

abundant harvest in every creek, along every sea shore, and upon every island in the tropics—thus does a bountiful nature provide subsistence for man.

The oil palm of West Africa rears herself in straight cylindrical form, her porous trunk scarred by fallen leaf bases, to a maximum height of about 70 feet. At the base is the enormous root, resembling a huge cocoanut mat, whilst by tracing out individual roots they are found to reach 35 feet and more from the base. The lofty stem, from 30 to 50 inches in diameter, is crowned by twenty to thirty leaves 10 to 14 feet long, each leaf carrying scores of leaflets arranged on both sides of its flexible midrib. At the base of these leaves, firmly embedded in the crown, is to be found the source of West African wealth, the bunch of oil nuts. The nuts, about the size of a walnut, cluster in hundreds, sometimes as many as 2,000, round the central cone, and together form a single head of fruit as large as a straw beehive and weighing well over half a cwt.

The kernel of the nut, the size and shape of an almond, gives a white oil, which forms the basis of much of the “pure Spanish olive oil” of commerce. The kernel is enclosed in a hard shell, not unlike, but much harder than a peach stone, which is in turn clothed with a mass of oleaginous fibre, the whole encased in a strong red and black skin. It is from the latter fibre that the railway constructor of the Victorian period obtained his lubricating oil, that the soap merchant of twenty years ago obtained his raw material, that the

chemist of ten years ago produced margarine, and from which—in 1916-18—Sir Douglas Haig obtained his high explosives for the battles of Vimy, Passendeale, Cambrai, and the “Drocourt Switch.”

The foaming wine drawn from this oil palm is an article of indigenous consumption, and finds no place in the African exports of to-day, although the Pharoahs of Egypt drew large supplies at great cost for the purpose of embalming their holy dead. The head or crown of the palm is one of the delicacies of West Africa, and this solid mass of white succulent vegetable has all the properties of the freshest of seakale, but if anything more delicate in flavour, whilst a single head would amply supply the needs of a Lord Mayor’s banquet.

The cocoanut palm gives the more familiar nut weighing several pounds, whose outer husk provides a marketable fibre for door-mats, sacking and rope, whilst with the advance of science and the decline in horse breeding the best qualities are now dyed black, brown and grey, then crimped and curled, and hey presto—real horse hair ! But modern civilization is more interested in the copra which, with other products, gives us “nut butter,” or margarine. Copra is simply the sun-dried or kiln-dried white flesh of the cocoanut, yielding up to and sometimes exceeding 60 per cent. of fat. Upon the conservative figure of fifty nuts per tree per annum—the annual yield of nuts from 1,000 acres of cocoanut palms is over 2,000,000—and as 1,000 nuts will give at least 500 piculs of copra, the total yield for 1,000 acres

is over 500 tons of copra, which at only £20 per ton is £10,000, or £10 per acre as a minimum from copra alone.

Neither the oil palm of West Africa nor the cocoanut palm of any tropical area can be harvested by the white man; the black man of Africa and the brown man of Asia are alone capable of harvesting and preparing this product. Machinery will yet triumph over many of the labour difficulties of to-day, but without the native these expanding industries would wither up. In the early stages the smaller bunches of both oil nuts and cocoanuts can be reached almost from the ground, but in the prime bearing periods that 60 to 70 feet of cylindrical stem must be climbed, or more correctly "walked," up by the harvester. A British merchant in Nigeria has recently made the calculation that the 77,000 tons of oil exported from Nigeria represented a total climbing activity of 34,496,000 trees, or 522,638 miles—thus, with the total West Africa export of oil alone, in the neighbourhood of 150,000 tons, the natives of West Africa climb, for the benefit of the white man's bathroom and breakfast table, about 70 million trees, which by simple calculation means one million miles every year!

Whilst copra is dried, the oil nut is either fermented or boiled—sometimes both. The nuts are then either thrown into a cemented well or left in a heap until they drop easily from the stem and, what is of equal importance to the worker, from the huge thorns which protect them. When the pulp has been rendered soft, either by fer-

mentation or boiling, the nuts are pounded with huge wooden pestles which cause the pericarp to leave the stone. The mass of yellow fibre is then, with the aid of hot water, squeezed through native presses from which flows a thick stream of golden oil. The kernel of the nut is obtained by cracking the shell, either by machinery or by hand between two stones. The difficulty attendant upon cracking machinery is that it so often breaks the kernel, which in turn means a loss of oil. The old grey-haired ladies of West Africa, sitting outside their huts with upper and nether millstones in their hands, have for years cracked 300,000 tons of kernels each year for the white man. These old ladies remain to-day the most picturesque and certainly the safest cracking machines in Africa. The progress of the industry is indicated by the fact that in 1800 Great Britain imported from Africa less than 300 tons of palm products, whilst to-day Africa produces over 500,000 tons, with a total value of nearly £10,000,000 sterling.

The extraordinary advance in chemical science has made palm and copra oils the principal ingredients in modern vegetable butter, which is being consumed in ever increasing quantities. Prior to the war Great Britain imported and consumed over £4,000,000 worth of margarine.

Africa provides two other products, the ground nut and the cotton seed, which are combined with the oil nut and the cocoanut in the manufacture of margarine. The ground nut is the familiar "monkey nut" of the British markets. Its cultivation is extremely easy—one nut planted an

inch below the surface soon springs up into a leafy clump, with which is a mass of closely packed nuts, which by harvest time covers a square foot of ground. France is easily the largest colonial producer of this nut, for the French colonies of West Africa exported, prior to the war, nearly 200,000 tons of these little nuts, worth upon the European market over $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. The probable reason for the French interest in this article is its suitability for the manufacture of "pure olive" and salad oils.

Cotton seed produces a relatively low but valuable percentage of oil which is now used in combination with other oils in the production of margarine and also, in times of peace, in making the lighter forms of French pastries. The seed is the smallest of the oil-producing kernels and is, of course, obtained from the centre of the fluffy little puffs of raw staple so familiar to the traveller in the Southern States of America, Egypt and Northern Nigeria.

Cocoa is quite a modern product of Africa, for fifty years ago it was unknown in any part of the continent.

To the popular mind cocoa is a pleasing beverage, but as it possesses over 50 per cent. of fat probably its rightful category is that of vegetable butter. Within the last thirty years cocoa has taken firm root on African soil, and Africa is now superseding South America and the West Indies as the great cocoa-producing area of the world. Montezuma, that tragic figure in Mexican history, fared sumptuously every day upon cocoa. We are told that

the Aztec monarch had fifty jars of cocoa prepared every day for his personal consumption, whilst 2,000 jars were allotted to the royal household. Although gold and precious stones were fairly abundant in Mexico, it was cocoa which formed the currency. Montezuma's treasure house, captured by the Spaniards, contained 40,000 loads of currency cocoa in wicker baskets.

The first public sale of cocoa in England appears to have been on June 16th, 1657, when a French caterer in Queen's Head Alley, Bishopsgate, offered for sale a West Indian drink, called chocolate, made or unmade. At a later period the famous London Club—"White's"—where assembled their Graces the Dukes, Noble Lords, Prize Pugilists, Cock-fighters, and, it is said, notorious robbers and highwaymen, became the fashionable centre of chocolate and cocoa consumers; indeed, in those early days the Club was known as "White's Chocolate House." But for nearly 300 years the British people failed to appreciate the pleasing flavour and nutritious value of the "Food of the Gods," for even so late as 1820 our consumption was less than 300,000 lbs., whereas to-day it is over 50,000,000 lbs. The composition of cocoa is first of all vegetable butter, of which the bean contains over 50 per cent.; indeed, with some manufacturers the fat is now the chief product and the cocoa for beverage but a by-product, hence the reason of widely advertised cocoa essences at low rates, which usually means that the best part of the cocoa bean has been used to adorn the features of a fair lady,

leaving for the consumption of mere man the offal of the bean !

Cocoa cultivation is possible in most tropical and sub-tropical lands, and the bearing period commences soon after the sixth year ; but the prime cropping period is between the twelfth and twentieth years, when a tree will often produce 60 to 180 pods a year, or upon a good average 4,000 beans weighing, when dried, about 9 lbs.

In appearance the tree is similar to the ordinary standard plum of a British orchard, and the cases or pods containing the beans not unlike an elongated cocoanut. After the pods are gathered and the beans extracted they are subjected to fermentation, and those who may have witnessed this five-day process will do as I did, in my haste and folly, vow that " never again would I touch cocoa or chocolate." It is perfectly inconceivable that such a sour, filthy, malodorous mass could ever become a fragrant beverage or sweetmeats of seductive beauty and taste. Fermentation completed, the beans are then exposed to the sun's rays for two or three days, and when dry they are ready for shipment to Europe.

In the family of gums, rubber is easily the chief. Rubber production is divided into two distinct periods, that of wild rubber and the more recent period of cultivated rubber.

In all probability Columbus was the first white man to see India-rubber, although certain writers insist that it was his first Lieutenant, Commander

Pinçon, who actually first saw the American Indians playing with a ball made of a species of gum drawn from under the bark of an indigenous tree in the Amazonian forests. It seems clear, however, that whether Columbus, Pinçon, or Cortes discovered rubber, it was first brought to the notice of civilization about the year 1500.

For nearly 400 years European use for rubber was restricted to the class-rooms and writing-desks of our boys' and girls' schools, whilst even so recently as 1830 Great Britain imported less than 25 tons as compared with a pre-war import of 45,000 tons. Charles Mackintosh, by the discovery of his water-proofing process, gave an enormous impetus to rubber, but it was not until nearly thirty years ago that the rubber boom commenced on the London, Antwerp, and Hamburg markets.

Condamine, exploring the valleys of the Andes, discovered the tree called by the Indians Cauche, and from this the French have coined the word caoutchouc, by which term continental rubber is known.

About the same time King Leopold's agents discovered the Llandolphia vines in the Congo forests, whilst in 1888 Sir George Denton, with the aid of a Fantee chief from the Gold Coast, found rubber in British Nigeria.

For many reasons cultivated rubber has never been able to make the rapid strides in Africa which has so characterized the industry in Ceylon and the Straits Settlements. The cost of white supervision and the shortage of labour is

one of the principal reasons, and a good illustration of this difficulty is to be found in German East Africa. In 1912 Germany had over 112,000 acres planted with rubber, containing over 20,000,000 rubber trees, of which, before the outbreak of war, nearly 10,000,000 were ready for tapping. But these plantations, like all industry in tropical and sub-tropical areas, involve such heavy working expenditure that the rubber cannot be shipped from the ports at less than 2s. per pound ; and whilst it remains at this figure it can never hope to compete with British rubber from Ceylon and the Federated Malay States. The British Consul, in his 1914 report, says : "The small planters, many of whom employ cheap local labour, can produce at less expense, and it is possible they will weather the storm ; but the outlook is not reassuring for the large plantations."*

In the world of fibres the two principal products are cotton and sizal. Germany has devoted a good deal of energy and money to the development of sizal plantations ; in 1913 the area under cultivation had increased to over 60,000 acres. Sizal is easily cultivated, although labour does not like the extremely unpleasant task of harvesting it, on account of the vicious spikes, which have a habit of inflicting both nasty and very painful wounds—no matter how careful the reaper may be. If the civil upheaval in Mexico should lead to the reform of the Yucatan, with the abolition of slavery, then the sizal industry of East Africa

should have even brighter prospects than it possesses to-day.

Cotton is one of the oldest-established products in the African continent, but the production of exportable cotton is of quite recent growth. Sixty years ago West Africa exported less than £1,000 worth of raw staple, compared with about £30,000 prior to the outbreak of war. The increasing shortage of the available American supply has focussed attention upon suitable areas in Africa, with the result that ever-increasing quantities are being produced. The Sudan now exports over £150,000 worth, Egypt £20,000,000, Nyasaland £16,000, Uganda £12,000, and West Africa nearly £30,000. Both Portugal and Germany have attempted cotton growing in their Dependencies, the former with no great success, but the latter with very appreciable results, for the total crop in 1912 was worth over £100,000.

To these major vegetable products must be added the spices of East Africa, Zanzibar and Pemba, South African fruit, West African kola nuts and fruits, feathers from Nigeria, chilli peppers from the Spanish territories, and a volume of sundry products which collectively go towards the comfort of the white races of Europe and America.

What does not the white man owe to those horny black hands of Africa !

The white man, rising to go forth to his labours refreshed by a luxurious bath, seldom meditates upon the relationship of his comfort to those millions of simple natives who garner the raw

product for his scented soap. Away there in Africa millions of these sons of the dark continent are daily scouring forest and plain, climbing trees 80 feet high one after another. Hatchet in hand, they climb and cut away the bunches of oil nuts, running appreciable risks of falling and breaking their backs in the attempt, whilst their black hands too often run red with blood from sharp thorns which must be separated from the matrix. At the foot of the tree wife and children await the falling bunches of nuts, then gather them up and make for home, heavily laden with the yellow fruit. Forth they go again, each time returning like the honey-bee heavily burdened with nature's bounty fastened to the body. But the gathering of the harvest leaves no time for rest, the nuts must be laid out so that fermentation may do its work, after which the fermented nuts must be boiled or pounded, perhaps both, in order to extract the golden oil, both for the native meal and for the benefit of white men overseas. Father, mother, boy and girl—the energies of all are bent upon this never-ceasing task. A place, too, must be found for the dear old granny, now grey and crippled, and the little tots too small to wield the heavy pestle ; the oily fibre beaten off, the nut is then thrown in countless thousands to granny and child who, by the aid of two hard stones, crack crack, crack in never-ending monotony and extract the white kernel for the oil which, ultimately, finds its way to the tables of the white man's restaurants and clubs as pure olive oil ; and the white man, if he thinks about it at all, thanks God

for the olive plantations of Portugal, Spain and Palestine, little dreaming that it is not to the Spaniard and the Turk, but to the African that he owes his grateful thanks.

The housewife, sitting at her breakfast-table, fragrant with the aroma of cocoa and coffee, takes it in much the same way. How little thought is bestowed upon the black producer of her family comfort, the daily task in the far distant plantation is an unknown or unrecognized factor, yet what a new world would be opened up by short meditation—how those sons of Africa toil for that fragrant bean ! Axes in hundreds and thousands ring out through the forest in mighty battle against forest giants and the impenetrable network of creeping vine ; but those fallen giants, those mountain hills of dead and dying creeper, must be utterly destroyed before planting can commence—saw, axe, and flaming fire are called into play, and at last, but only after months of toil in burning heat of sun and stifling heat of the daily furnace, is there room for the young cocoa plant.

Seven years they have “weeded” and waited for the cocoa harvest, and from tree to tree they now go, hatchet in hand, cutting away the ripe caskets of beans. Back to the village they go, these African farmers, each laden with his baskets of cocoa pods ; then come fermentation and drying processes. After seven years’ labour their precious product is ready for the white man. If in huge hogsheads, they are trundled along African path and road for twenty to thirty miles ;

if in sacks, the young men of the family will place the burden of 60 to 100 lbs. upon their heads, and staff in hand set out to trudge that long hot road to buying station, or even to the sea-coast ! Thus is civilization indebted to millions of Africans for fragrant cocoa and delicate chocolate and sweet-meat !

The white man, refreshed, cheered and comforted by his twentieth-century breakfast, dons his coat, hat and gloves and forth he goes to his daily task, stepping into his Panhard, Wolseley, Ford, or even the humble motor-bus, profoundly thankful for the ease of travel that rubber tyres permit, but little dreaming of the perils and labour entailed in gathering the raw product. Away in Africa are thousands of natives seeking out the rubber vine in the depths of forest lands, exposing themselves day and night to ever-present disease or violent death from lurking beast. If not in forest land they may be labouring on plantations, tapping and collecting the slowly trickling latex as it falls, drop by drop, into the bark trench of the tree. Collecting the fluid a spoonful at a time is wearisome and tedious, but in the end these " littles " go to swell the volume of white gum destined for Europe and America. The task is not easy, the reward too often shameful, but the African plods on with his labour for the comfort of the thoughtless white race ; too often even those most intimately benefiting from coloured labour are as thoughtless as the mass : for five years I have watched one such—and pitied her !

The Hon. Mrs. X, high in the social scale and

an extreme Radical-Socialist, has three main interests—housing reform, educational reform, and the care of children. She is prominent in her religious circle, eloquent in denunciation of housing scandals, “overcrowding,” and the treatment of children ; social workers, labour leaders, clergy and ministers delight to consult her and listen to her overflowing righteous indignation at the deplorable conditions in the British Isles. It so happens that the author has not merely read the lady’s speeches upon social reform but circumstances have led him to watch and study the plantations from which she and her family draw a good deal of their wealth. In those plantations, away in a distant corner of the world, the labourers toil on at a wage of less than 10s. a week, a death-rate never lower than 40 per 1,000, living in huts infinitely less commodious and sanitary than this lady’s stables at —. Little children on those plantations toil at rubber collecting without any chance of education, whilst it is officially reported that there is “no legislative limit to the hours” these children “can be made to work.” The plantations which are in almost the exclusive ownership of this lady’s family, have never paid, within recent years, a dividend lower than 50 per cent., whilst in some years the dividend has exceeded 100 per cent.! In all her speeches this lady has never uttered a word in favour of reforms in oversea industries, whilst there is no tangible evidence that the family interest in those black and brown labourers goes beyond the handsome yearly dividends. This lady does not stand

alone ; she is just one of the thoughtless hundreds, content to draw dividends and make no inquiries so long as the injustices are beyond their immediate ken.

This stagnant complacency must be shattered, and it is the duty of every Christian man and woman to take a hand in the work of linking conscience to industrial conditions of Africa, to summon those who benefit by the labours of black and brown men, women and children, to a realization of their responsibility before God for the well-being of those who minister to their comfort. For the Christian the supreme objective must be the extension of the Kingdom of God ; that extension will be hastened or hindered according to the measure of our knowledge of the conditions and our concern for the Christian welfare and simple justice towards these millions of our fellow labourers.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRODUCTS OF AFRICA—GOLD AND PRECIOUS STONES

IN point of time Jagersfontein and Kimberley were first with diamonds upon any considerable scale. In 1903 their combined output was under £1,000,000, and three years later had increased to over £2,000,000. In 1908 the value of diamonds exported from Cape Town was nearly £3,000,000. In the same year precious stones were discovered in German South-West Africa, through the influx of white men for the purpose of putting down a Hottentot rising and of constructing a railway. Only three years later, in 1911, Kimberley was working diamonds at a depth of 3,500 feet, and its mines alone were producing £1,500,000 of precious stones per annum. Prior to the outbreak of war, the diamond areas of Africa were yielding annually over £13,000,000 of precious stones. Mr. A. E. Calvert provides the following interesting table for three years' working :*

* *German African Empire.*

QUANTITIES

Country	1911 Carats	1912 Carats	1913 Carats
Union of South Africa	4,891,998	5,071,882	5,163,546
German South W. Africa	816,296	902,157	1,284,727
Total	5,708,294	5,974,039	6,448,273

VALUES

Country	1911 £	1912 £	1913 £
Union of South Africa	8,746,724	10,061,489	11,389,807
German South W. Africa	1,019,444	1,303,092	2,153,230
Total	9,766,168	11,364,581	13,543,037

The working of diamonds in British South Africa since the earliest known discovery in 1870 had resulted in a total output at the close of 1916 of £175,000,000.

Gold.

Gold, the "scarlet woman" of the modern financial world, has ruined more men, whilst at the same time it has made more fortunes than any other African commodity. The love of gold has been the root of almost every evil thing in Africa ; seeking the lands wherein gold was secreted has caused the shedding of rivers of blood, whilst the

gaunt spectres in the Phthisis Hospitals of "Jo'burg" tell to-day their own horrible story of the price those must pay who pit, blast and mine a mile below the earth's surface for the precious yellow ore.

In the popular mind gold production dates, in some dim way from "the South African War." It is true that in the same hazy way the romance of *King Solomon's Mines* implies early gold seekers, but the wild and thrilling setting of Rider Haggard's story has closed thought and mind to the more solid and even more fascinating evidence that it was indeed from the African continent that Kings David, Hiram and Solomon drew their supplies of gold. What amount of gold did David and Solomon accumulate for the service of the Temple? The Temple itself, built one thousand years before the Christian era, was in length 90 feet, breadth 30 feet, and height 45 feet. The whole of the floors, walls, ceiling and roof of the Temple were covered with pure beaten gold; ornaments, chains and fittings were likewise made of pure gold. The "Most Holy House" alone required 600 talents of pure gold, and the weight of the golden nails was 50 shekels. The candlesticks and the 100 basins were of gold, together with apparently numberless gold implements—snuffers, spoons, candlesticks, flowers and lamps. Altogether such a lavish expenditure of gold that it defies anything like accurate computation.* Moreover, Solomon used immense quantities of gold for other purposes, for he made 200 targets

* 2 Chron. iii.

of beaten gold, each requiring 600 shekels of gold.*

The gold for the Temple took the lifetime of King David to collect, and Solomon was seven and a half years in building the Temple itself, which stood for thirty-four years. There are, happily, some most instructive details upon the collection of these vast supplies of gold. In the first place it is quite clear that the source of supply was a port across the seas for which ships and servants with a knowledge of the open sea were essential.†

Nor is this all, for we know that this sea journey took three years, and when returning the boats brought back with them gums, apes, ivory and peacocks.

The hoard of gold was, we know, colossal, for David, when giving the command to Solomon to build the Temple, stated that his national collection for the building amounted to 100,000 talents of gold, with an additional personal gift of 3,000 talents. To this was added 5,000 talents from the Princes and Chiefs of Israel, making together a total of 108,000 talents which Solomon inherited from King David for the purpose. But King Solomon also added to this very considerably during his reign. King Hiram gave him 120 and 450 talents, making together 570 talents which probably did not include the 666 talents which "came to Solomon in one year." It would seem that the over-seas expedition of Kings Hiram and Solomon brought to each of them about 400 to 500 talents every third year. It is probable,

* 2 Chron. ix.

† 2 Chron. viii. 18.

therefore, that at the time Solomon commenced building the Temple he had for the purpose not less than 120,000 talents of gold. If a talent of gold is taken at £5,500, the total value of the gold would be about £700,000,000. This sum seems so vast as to be incredible, yet the amount of beaten gold required to cover completely so huge a building as the Temple was alone colossal. It is, however, possible that either the Babylonian or the Syrian scale of tabulation was used, which would reduce the amount to £350,000,000 Babylonian, or the more manageable figure of £140,000,000 Syrian.

Whence came this gold ? If Rhodesia was not the fount of gold to these Eastern Potentates, whence then did they obtain it ? and, moreover, what explanation is there of these mighty works in Rhodesia whose ruins to-day present to the excavator one of the world's greatest riddles—up to the present day defying authoritative solution ? The existing evidence leaves the origin or object of these vast works obscure.

The traveller through Rhodesia looks on in wonder at kopjes whose boulders are linked together and then rendered impregnable to assault by hewn granite walls in most cases several feet thick. In any single ruin there must be hundreds of thousands and in some cases millions of granite blocks shaped by some prodigious human agency and then built into the walls and structures covering extensive areas of the territory in the Zambesi valley. But these works had not merely a protective value to the ancient gold workers, for

Zimbabwe affords evidence of religious worship—its symbols and construction can have no other significance ; the traveller gazes in wonder upon the symmetry of its walls and passages and the amazing efforts of those early builders, who in order to rear the Acropolis had to carry up the steep kopje of 200 feet thousands upon thousands of tons of neatly-shaped granite bricks. Whilst the traveller reflects upon the immensity of that single task, his thoughts dwell in logical sequence upon the still greater labour of hewing and shaping those blocks with primitive instruments, and his meditations leave him amazed and perplexed.

It is clear—at least to most people—that these extensive structures were not the work of the indigenous African, but that of some immigrant race—an immigrant race bent not upon colonization, but the exploitation of the resources of the valley. There is abundant evidence in support of this theory, which leads to the further question, namely, what was the commodity to secure which this race of people were prepared to spend such energy ? The answer to this is equally clear, for their implements remain to this day—not single instruments in a given spot, but hundreds of them, scattered over the entire territory—the implements of the gold-seeker, picks, crucibles, gold wiring presses and metal engravers. Nor is this all, for many of the old workings remain to-day just as they were hurriedly forsaken on one tragic day many centuries ago, while scattered around in the debris are tiny fragments of pure gold, beads, wire and countless little nails all of solid

gold. It will never be known, not within some millions of pounds, how much precious metal was won in these distant centuries from what is now Rhodesia, but the most conservative expert estimate is that it was not less than seventy-five million pounds sterling.

It is not merely the character of the ruins, their symmetry and extent which point to the skill of these ancient gold-seekers, for evidence of skill in gold working is found in the remarkable ornaments and tools discovered in the few areas which have been subject to excavation. In the museum at Bulawayo can be seen to-day a cast of the "golden sun" image, flint axes, ancient quartz crushing hammer, soapstone tablet, copper bar, a phallus and a soapstone image. In the Cape Town museum there are five soapstone birds which were discovered at Zimbabwe.

A moment's reflection will emphasize the amazing activity of the industrial population of that day, for any single work would have occupied gangs of labourers for years, possibly generations. Whilst building was in progress others would be engaged in gold mining and crushing operations. These two main streams of activity would in turn imply a large servile agricultural population producing the necessary crops of food in all probability by force. To these would be added again gangs of carriers constantly moving to and from both the interior and the coast. How can it be supposed that this prodigious and unceasing activity was maintained by a handful of immigrant warriors ? Taken even upon the basis of any modern sub-

tropical industry where effective control of labourers is essential, and postulating a labouring element of only 50,000, the oversight and management would mean 1,000 "supermen," with an inevitable death rate of at least some hundreds every year.

The world of science is divided into two camps upon the antiquity of these ruins. Dr. Randall Maciver bluntly dismisses the theories of Bent, Swan and Hall, but his criticisms seem superficial, whilst the arbitrary tone he adopts repels rather than attracts one to his views. Professor A. H. Keane states the other side under seven heads: that Ophir was the distributing port and not the source of the gold; Ophir has now been identified with Moscha of Arabia, or Portus Nobilis of the Greek and Roman geographers; Havilah was the auriferous land now known as Rhodesia; the ancient gold workings of Rhodesia were first opened by the Arabian Himyarites; Tarshish stood probably on the site of the present Sofala; the Himyaritic and Phoenician treasure seekers reached Havilah through Madagascar; the Queen of Sheba journeyed overland, and the treasure she possessed came from the same source. Thus does Professor Keane sum up the scientific evidence in favour of Rhodesia being the source of King Solomon's gold.

When eminent doctors of science disagree, the man of one or two talents—the man in the street—feels free not only to hold but to express an opinion. The outstanding feature of these works which appeals so strongly to the simple student of

African history is the impossibility of the works being African in origin. There is in no part of Africa any negro or negroid enterprises which can at all compare with these works of Rhodesia. If any African tribe had at any time undertaken granite works of this gigantic nature, it is certain that neighbouring tribes would have emulated them, at least to an extent which would have left some trace to-day. The second and even more convincing factor is that those negro races who show in many respects great possibilities of development have never shown evidence of undertaking works involving years of unremitting toil, least of all with the object of winning gold. If, therefore, the African did not, as he certainly did not, design and build these extensive works and win the enormous quantities of gold from Zambezia, it is obvious that some immigrant race did so. Who, then, built the ruins of Rhodesia, and for whom were won these millions of gold ? Again, if these millions of gold which demonstrably were contained in the Zambesi Valley, either just upon or just below the surface, were not gathered for Kings David, Solomon, Hiram, and the Queen of Sheba, and used for the Temple, whence were their vast hoards of gold obtained ?

To-day the three principal gold mining areas of Africa are (*a*) the Gold Coast, with an annual output of about one and a half millions ; (*b*) Southern Rhodesia, with an output of approximately £2,500,000 per annum ; and (*c*) the main source of supply, namely, that twenty-eight miles of Reef known as the Randt. The Wit-

watersrand, or "head of the white waters," is "blanket" or a conglomerate of pebbles and quartz matrix and a small percentage of pyrites. The ancient gold miners of the Zambesi seldom went deeper than 80 feet, whilst present-day miners on the Randt are winning gold at a vertical depth of nearly 5,000 feet. The rock temperature increases appreciably according to depth, and thereby produces an increase of humidity. The amount of moisture in these deep level mines is strikingly demonstrated by the fact that the ventilating fan in the "Village Deep" mine actually removes in the process of ventilation 40,000 gallons of water per day!

The modern system of rock-drilling, whereby the very atmosphere becomes impregnated with fine dust, has led to chronic lung disease with an excessively high rate of mortality from miners' phthisis. What this means in vital statistics is set forth in the report upon Miners' Phthisis :*

"The diagram (in the report) shows . . . the percentage of Machine Drillers at each year of underground life who have Miners' Phthisis. It will be seen that 50 per cent. of the men who have worked 4.5 years are affected, and at ten years of underground life approximately 80 per cent. are attacked. . . . The conclusions strongly suggested by the above results are that the use of rock drills over a prolonged period greatly increases and accelerates the incidence of chest diseases amongst miners, and that the working

* U.G. 19. 1912. South African Government.

efficiency of any rock drill miner, working under present conditions, will on the average be impaired or even exhausted after 7 to 9 years' work."

The Commission thus concludes its report upon death-rates :

" Further, we find that the average age at death from respiratory diseases for the three years is 41, while the average age of those dying from Miners' Phthisis, Phthisis, Silicosis, and Tuberculosis is approximately 38."

This, then, is the truly terrible price which to-day seekers after gold must pay—80 to 90 per cent. of white men engaged in the task are within 10 years stricken with this fatal malady and the average age at which they lay down to die is in the very prime of life—38 and 41 years of age.

The spheres of labour between the white and coloured forces are roughly divided by skilled labour for the whites and unskilled labour for the coloured people and the natives. There is some reason to think that the incidence of phthisis falls less heavily upon the native than upon the white men. If this is so, it is probably due to the fact that the native now works upon a relatively short contract which gives him a few months' work beneath the surface and alternately a few months at home in the Kraal which he generally arranges for the health-giving harvest period. It is, however, impossible to control this "general impression" until definite statistics are forth-

coming as to the fate of the tuberculotic cases which return to the Kraals.

The native labourers are paid from £2 10s. to £3 10s. per month with board and lodging found, while the white men demand, and in the majority of cases receive, a minimum of £1 per day. Taking the average number of natives continuously employed at 200,000 and of the white men at 20,000, they would have received in wages during the typical year of 1912 :

Whites	£400	per head.
Natives (in cash alone)	£28	„	„	„

The leaders of white organized labour argue that two white men do as much work as three natives, a contention for which there appears to be at present no solid foundation. Still less could this claim be made if the natives were given educational advantages approximating to those available for the white races. Upon this feature Sir Drummond Chaplin has asserted that to replace natives with white labour, even upon the basis of two white men in place of three natives, would mean that the white men could only be paid 5s. 4d. per day, as against their minimum demand of £1 per day.

The mines cannot go much deeper than 5,000 feet, whilst many of them are so nearly worked out that they must soon cease to be a paying proposition. Competent observers declare, and in many cases actually hope, that ten years will see the Randt completely worked out, and that within twenty years Johannesburg will fulfil prophecy

and be in ruins and buried beneath sand dumps and prairie grass ; this doleful prophecy should not be taken too literally for other industries may quite conceivably spring up in this magnificent if wicked city at the head of the white waters.

Johannesburg has been a generous giver of gold, for since she started in 1884 with a gold output of only £10,000, civilization has received from beneath her surface nearly £600,000,000 sterling. In the first decade, 1884-94, the output rose from £10,000 to £7,667,000 ; from 1894 to 1904, £7,667,000 to £16,028,000 ; from 1904 to 1914, £16,028,000 to £35,656,000 per annum. For the last five years the figures have shown only a slight increase, the total output varying from thirty-six millions to thirty-nine millions sterling per annum.

The most striking change in the labour situation on the mines in recent years is in the attitude of capital towards the native labourers. The capitalist to-day is seeking by every means to encourage the native to aim at a higher standard of industry ; no doubt this change of attitude is partly due to the ever-increasing difficulties with organized white labour, but the fact remains that the mine owners are on the side of the native in seeking to fill higher positions. In striking contrast to this is the attitude assumed by white organized labour ; every effort is made to restrict the native and coloured labourers to the unskilled trades, and any proposal to give the natives liberty to rise in the industrial scale is met by the threat of a strike.

The position adopted by the white labour forces

towards the coloured or half-caste labour is to-day one of the gravest racial scandals in South Africa. In the year 1917 a strike occurred because owing to the shortage of labour it was proposed to engage a number of half-caste or coloured Africans upon semi-skilled tasks. Could anything be more abominably indefensible ? These half-castes had been brought into the world because the white race had outraged and debauched African women, and not content with this degrading of womanhood, their own offspring were and are actually denied the right to share the tasks of their parents.

Neither by word nor deed can the Christian Church give countenance to these intolerable racial disabilities, and it is the duty of the Church to insist upon the full right of the African to rise to the highest plane of industrial efficiency in his own country. In the mines of South Africa the day of conflict between white capital and coloured labour has almost passed away—a darker day is before us, a terrible racial struggle between organized white labour and unorganized native labour. The 250,000 natives only ask for justice in this industrial struggle, justice for their race in their own country—and the forces of Christianity must hasten to their aid if the Kingdom of God is ever to be established along the Randt.

PART II

AFRICAN LABOUR

- I. INDIGENOUS AFRICAN LABOUR.
- II. MODERN SLAVERY.
- III. MODERN SLAVERY—PORTUGUESE.
- IV. INDIAN IMMIGRATION.

CHAPTER I

INDIGENOUS AFRICAN LABOUR

THE most precious asset in Africa is labour, yet in criminal folly the white races have done to death millions upon millions of these, the most relatively harmless but intensely interesting members of the human race. The clarion call now goes forth to commerce, science and religion to face facts boldly, if shamefacedly, and to examine responsibility for the crime ; to study, moreover, the folly of past and existing systems of labour with a view to the introduction of a new order whereby white capital and coloured labour linked together may share alike in the productive energies of the African continent and so lead on to a new era founded upon an alliance mutually advantageous to the African producer and the white consumer.

It is probable that the population of the African continent to-day is only half what it was a century ago. The entire absence of statistics forces the investigator to depend upon native tradition which throughout Africa is, however, consistent in its evidence that before contact with the white races Africa was comparatively well populated, although never so densely as the continent of

Asia. The fact that Africa suffers to-day from a chronic shortage of population and therefore of labour is unhappily too apparent. The reason for this reduction of population arises largely although not exclusively from contact with the white races. In all probability it has been due to the following causes in their respective order of incidence: Easily first in destructive force come the crimes attendant upon slave-trading, slave-owning and modern labour systems; secondly, to the breakdown of native customary law involving amongst other things sexual diseases; thirdly, punitive expeditions, loss of lands, internecine warfare; and finally, the consumption of ardent spirits; these latter have taken roughly an equal share in the destructive work.

Shortage of labour is the lament of almost every political area in the continent. The Lagden Commission during 1903-5 spent much time upon the question of supply and demand for South Africa. The report, however, was made upon the basis of a native population which totalled 4,652,000, whereas the latest census gives a population of 6,300,000. Within recent years the supply has approached much nearer to the demand. This is due partly to an increase of the population, but still more to the improvement made in labour conditions, but even so the shortage is a perpetual handicap upon industry. The Chairman of the Annual Meeting of the Native Recruiting Corporation in South Africa declared as recently as 1916 that although the supply had increased, it still showed that requirements for the mines fell

short from by 23 to 27 per cent. which means that the mines still require another 50,000 to 100,000 labourers. In German South West Africa every consular report has for years been full of laments upon this feature. In the last report issued by Mr. Consul Muller prior to the outbreak of war, he stated that "the lack of native labourers continues to retard progress," and that the Government, unable to arrange a supply from any part of the world, "fell back as usual upon the Cape boy," and finally, "many farmers complain that they can make no headway owing to the scarcity and unreliability of native labour."

Twelve hundred miles north, on the relatively well populated areas of Northern Nigeria, white industry makes the same complaint—"the amount of labour is no greater; small parties are returning, but these are quickly absorbed by the new properties which are starting up in every direction." Away two thousand miles eastward, Mr. Robert Williams declares that in the Tanganyika district industry waits on a labour supply—"We have a very serious problem in the native labour supply of the future"—"The natives are physically poor and the supply quite inadequate." To the north again the same cry is heard in British East Africa.

How is this shortage of labour to be met? The African continent has no area with a surplus. It is true that labour is recruited from Liberia for the Portuguese plantations, and from Portuguese East Africa for the gold mines of the Randt, although this is not due to a surplus of labour, but to the fact that the territories from which the labour

is recruited are for the moment undeveloped. There are two ways, and two only, by which this increasingly serious condition of affairs can be amended—(a) by seeking out and removing existing causes of depopulation and the destruction of human life, and (b) by introducing into Africa other races akin to the African in social and industrial status.

The former raises at once the whole question of the treatment meted out to the African by the Christian nations, because depopulation, disease and death have been indissolubly linked together by the white races in their thoughtless exploitation of these simple African tribes. Capital is of course the worst sinner, but neither the administrator nor even the missionary can point the finger at capital without being told with much force that so-called statecraft and even Christianity itself are not without sin in their relationship to the African.

In the African continent there are four main systems of labour, each of which has been productive of great loss of life and still greater loss of liberty and happiness :

- (a) Domestic Slavery.
- (b) Compulsory Labour for administrative purposes.
- (c) Forced Labour for private profit (modern slavery).
- (d) Fraudulent Contract Labour (modern slavery).

Domestic slavery and certain forms of forced

labour are indigenous, and however deplorable the systems of labour introduced by the white races, these two forms did not owe their origin to the white man—he simply “improved” upon them.

Domestic slavery is somewhat analogous to serfdom, but it includes control or more correctly the “possession” of concubines and their offspring, the control, and again the “possession,” of men servants and dependents. Domestic slavery has had three outstanding periods. Between these there have been, of course, transition stages. The first period was that of the Patriarchal age. The object of slavery in the Abrahamic period was primarily domestic and agricultural, but in process of time it gathered to itself accretions of a revolting nature, such as the possession of eunuchs, due again to polygamy, and in the more barbarous regions, as in Central Africa, it became the basis of human sacrifices and even cannibalism.

Then followed the period when the Latin and Teutonic races introduced, maintained and extended a trade in human beings for the establishment and extension of industries in their newly-conquered tropical and sub-tropical colonial territories. To domestic slavery, therefore, were then added all the horrors of the slave trade, which rendered this period incomparably the worst.

The third period is the present, in which European Powers tolerate in many of the colonies, forms of servitude amongst indigenous people.

These systems, within primitive and normal limits, have much to be said for them; but toleration by European Governments becomes authority, which in turn spells active co-operation in "forcing" labour supplies.

Some years ago a ludicrous attempt was made in Nigeria to "regulate" domestic slavery, but this led to such an "impasse" that after some years of agitation the Ordinance was withdrawn, although it will probably take generations to eradicate the indigenous system. In this Ordinance, which only operated in the Eastern and Central Provinces of Nigeria, the domestic slaves were called a "House," and the following passages demonstrate how closely this came to a legalization of slavery :

1. "House" means a group of persons subject by Native law and custom to the control, authority, and rule of a Chief, known as a Head of a House.

"Member of a House" means and includes any person who, by birth or in any other manner, is or becomes subject to the control, authority, and rule of a Head of a House.

3. Every member of a House who refuses or neglects to submit himself to the control, authority, and rule of the Head of his House in accordance with Native law and custom, shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds, or to imprisonment with or without hard labour for any term not exceeding one year, or to both.

6. Every person who resists or obstructs the lawful apprehension of himself for any offence under this Ordinance, or escapes or attempts to escape from any custody in which he is lawfully detained, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds, or to imprisonment with or without hard labour for any term not exceeding one year, or to both.

7. Any European or Native who, knowing a Native to be a member of a House, employs such Native without the express or implied consent of the Head of the House, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds, or to imprisonment with or without hard labour for any term not exceeding one year, or to both.

Those who defended this Ordinance did so upon the ground that domestic slavery is inseparable from African social life. The vital point was overlooked, namely, that it is one thing to tolerate a deplorable native custom and seek to abolish it by moral suasion and education, but quite a different matter to establish and uphold such customs by British law.

Under this Ordinance domestic slavery became a very vicious thing in Nigeria and led to so much domestic unhappiness and to such a menace to morality that the Conference of Bishops and Clergy held in Lagos, in 1906, passed a resolution protesting against the Ordinance and urging its withdrawal. But this was not all. In 1910 a native "slave" ran away and sought refuge upon a ship flying the British flag ; he was then recap-

tured by British police, and only given his liberty after being flogged and then fined 15s. per month for life ! Another interesting incident which became inevitable under the operation of this Ordinance was the issue of a warrant for the capture of a runaway slave. The following is a good specimen copy :

No. 1881

74

Warrant to arrest Accused.

Form 2.

In the Native Council of Warri, Southern
Nigeria.

To.....Officer of Court.

Whereas Joe of Lagos is accused of the offence of (1) running away from the Head of his House two years ago ; (2) Larceny of cloth value 16s., two handkerchiefs, and a canoe. You are hereby commanded to arrest the said Joe of Lagos and to bring him before this Court to answer the said charge.

Issued at Warri, the 28th day of November,
1910.

Signed PERCY GORDON,
Senior Member of Court.

The alleged crime of larceny was, in fact, the loin cloth covering the poor fellow's nakedness, and the canoe the means by which he made his escape to the " free " zone of the Lagos island.

The reason white men so often support the native system of domestic slavery is that it provides an easy method of solving temporarily and

very simply the problem of labour shortage. The chiefs are told they must bring in a given number of native labourers upon a specified date, and nowhere was this practice more prevalent than in the late German colonies. During a Labour Commission of Inquiry, in 1913, in East Africa, evidence was given upon the practice in German Colonies. Dr. Lessi, of Nakuru, said :

“ The chiefs were notified as to the amount of labour that was to be supplied ”;

while another witness, Masai Mchaga, of the Kilimanjaro District, in German East Africa, said :

“ If the Government or other people required labour, the chief was told to supply it, and if a man refused to go the Government punished him.”

How widespread is this system and its terrible and revolting incidence upon the people will be gathered from the fact that in German East Africa alone there are to-day over 180,000 domestic slaves. Domestic slavery still exists over wide areas of the continent of Africa, where it leads to the break-up of families, the separation of husband from wife, and child from mother, for no system of slave-holding is thinkable, or indeed possible, without its even more horrible concomitant of slave-trading. This fact, obvious upon the face of it, and supported by experience, finds still further and new support in the admission that, so late as 1912, slaves were actually smuggled

across the borders of Uganda and Belgian Congo into German East Africa.

This system, with its hideous lineaments hidden under the less offensive name of "Serfdom," "Household," "Menage" or "House," must be rooted out wherever it is discovered, for in the end it can only lead to immorality, injustice and crime. Lord Cromer, referring to the slave traffic in the Sudan, thus characterizes the iniquitous system of domestic slavery :

" If the utility of the Soudan, considered on its own productive and economic merits, is not already proved to the satisfaction of the world—if it is not already clear that the reoccupation of the country has inflicted, more perhaps than any other event of modern times, a deadly blow to the abominable traffic in slaves, and to the institution of domestic slavery, which is only one degree less hateful than that traffic—it may confidently be asserted that we are on the threshold of convincing proof."

The second indigenous labour system is that of Forced Labour. The communal life of primitive Africa demands of necessity that every individual shall assume an equal share of the obligations of tribal life. Amongst the tribes of Africa there is, of course, no paid municipal labour force, no paid hunters, and no paid armies. Roads through towns and from village to village are obligations of the community, whilst the division of responsibility between village and village is settled by native Council, and so clearly and definitely is this

divided that upon occasion the construction of a simple wooden bridge across a single stream is allotted in equal "spans" to each village. The forest chase, the river expedition, boat-building and military expeditions, each requiring large numbers of men, make heavy demands upon the manual labour of the tribes. For all these purposes the Chiefs and their Councils have power to demand labour, and very short work would be made of any individual who refused to give his quota for any of these works of national benefit.

But though large powers are conferred upon the Chiefs and their Councils they are careful to make demands only within certain limits. Apart from military expeditions, labour can only be demanded for works connected with the local community. Another condition of equal importance is that labour can only be demanded subject to the tribal requirements of "seed time and harvest," and to the domestic requirements of the home. This form of national service was a familiar feature in France prior to the Revolution, and was, indeed, revived afterwards for the maintenance of roads. In England, too, it existed until 1835, and in Scotland until 1883.

In almost every African territory forced labour for public works is practised with, unfortunately, varying degrees of abuse. It is one thing for an African Chief and Council with full knowledge of local requirements to demand "compulsory labour," and quite another for the white man to do so. The construction of a bridge is a good illustration. The simple native bridge constructed

with a few score or even hundreds of young forest saplings, laced together with stout vines, occupies but a few days in construction. Compare this with the more stable European bridge—deep foundations must be dug, huge blocks of stone shaped and then transported many miles, iron-work, cement, tools, provisions, totalling together many tons, and the erection occupying as many months as a native bridge occupies days. The German railway and bridge contractor, working to scheduled time and at “cut” price, cannot allow his white supervisors to sit down, smoke cigarettes and quaff laager whilst the native labour force goes home to reap the harvest. Continuous labour until the contract is finished is the only principle known to the German, British, and French constructors. Thus forced labour for administrative purposes being quite a simple expedient in the hands of a sympathetic Chief, becomes in the hands of an energetic white administration an instrument of oppression which, unless carefully applied, can only lead to dislocation, unrest, and possibly violence.

In 1908 a Return was issued to the British Parliament which showed that compulsory labour for administrative purposes was, at that time, demanded in the Gambia, Gold Coast, Uganda and Natal, whilst it is notorious that “irregular” demands are still made in other territories. It seems impossible at the present stage of African progress to abolish entirely every form of compulsory labour for works of purely national importance; but it is the first duty of every

administrator to reduce his demand to an ever-decreasing minimum. It is, moreover, imperative that due regard should always be paid to the domestic requirements of the tribe, and that, wherever possible, a monetary commutation should be accepted by the administration.

Compulsory labour for administrative purposes can only be tolerated as a temporary expedient. But there is another form of forced labour, totally alien to indigenous conception and practice, violently opposed alike to ethics and economics, namely, forced labour for private profit. Against this forced labour system, which has always led and must always lead to cruelty, slavery, bloodshed and murder, the forces of Christianity must stand with all the holy strength which a righteous cause inspires. History, common sense, and political economy will stand solidly with the forces of Christianity in opposing, in season and out of season, this dire peril to the native races of Africa, and because Right is Right and God is God the progressive forces of our Holy Faith will win this economic, moral and spiritual victory for Africa and the African.

What are the lineaments of this dark peril ?

CHAPTER II

MODERN SLAVERY

Forced Labour for Private Profit.

FORCED labour for private profit is slavery ; to demand compulsory labour in the financial interests of an individual or corporation is to establish the iniquitous principle of a *property right* in a fellow man. In the African continent this form of labour has been practised for nearly half a century, and it is widely practised to-day. The consequences have been invariably those which, throughout history, have accompanied acknowledged slave-owning and slave-trading. The two methods to secure this labour in Africa are :

- (a) Direct demands made upon the Chiefs, either with or without the aid of the Administration.
- (b) By dispossessing the native of land and virgin produce, thereby leaving them with nothing but their labour.

Germany, France, Belgium, Portugal and Great Britain have, within the last fifty years, knowingly or unknowingly, permitted this form of modern slavery. In every Colony where it has been

practised it has led to economic disaster and atrocious ill-treatment of the natives, followed by widespread suffering, disease, and rapid depopulation.

Great Britain permitted its introduction into the Zambesi Valley in 1890-6. For a long time it was denied by the administration, and only by persistent effort was the truth ultimately established and the system abolished. Sir Richard Martin, who was instructed to investigate the allegations made against the Chartered Company, summed up the situation in the following terms :

“ The principal conclusions I have arrived at from the various reports, are—

1. That compulsory labour did undoubtedly exist in Matabeleland if not in Mashonaland.
2. That labour was procured by the various Native Commissioners for the various requirements of the Government, mining companies, and private persons.
3. That the Native Commissioners, in the first instance, endeavoured to obtain labour through the Indunas, but, failing in this, they procured it by force.”

The lessons of capital importance arising from this particular system are that the exercise of force as a labour recruiter for private interests is a most dangerous weapon, and that even though it may be hedged about by all kinds of limitations, its incidence becomes increasingly fatal until it gathers to itself so terrible a momentum that it

has always led, and must always lead, to widespread rebellion with ghastly results both to the white and native races.

The German administration in the Cameroons and German East Africa pursued this revolting policy right up to the outbreak of war, and, what is the more significant, it was done without any compunction whatsoever. In the *Kamerun Post* of May 2nd, 1914, the following passage occurred :

“ What would become of this colony if the natives are not compelled to do any work ? How shall export values be created, and how is it possible to increase the value of imports ? For what purpose have we got the colonies ? What service is the native to us if he does not want to work ? ”

In 1912, the Editor of *Der Tropenpflanzer** said :

“ What is required in the Cameroons is a more liberal policy on the part of the German Government towards the plantations, both as regards the terms for acquiring land, and on the part of the district officials to obtain better facilities for getting labour, in order to warrant and make possible a large and profitable extension of the cocoa-planting area.”

Precisely the same practices were pursued in German East Africa. A native from German

* No. 1. 1912.

East Africa stated before the Labour Commission of 1913 :*

“ The chiefs of his tribe were given direct orders by the German Government officials to supply certain quantities of labour for different plantations, Government works, etc. In the event of a native refusing the order of his chief to turn out, he was handed over to the Government for punishment.”

That knowledge of the pernicious results of this system found its way to Berlin is evidenced by the speech of a courageous Deputy of the Centre Party, who, in February, 1914, said he

“ would vote no more money for the colonies if energetic steps were not taken to protect the natives from ill-treatment and forced labour. There had been more loss of life on the plantations than in the slave-hunts of former years.”

This form of labour is only slavery by another name. Starting upon the assumption of property rights in our fellow men, it then proceeds to demand, at its own price, such labour as a right, and the inevitable consequence of such a demand must be backed by force, force which, in Africa, spells the burning of villages, the rape of women prisoners, and not infrequently reprisals upon the whites, with the resulting punitive expeditions and their bloody consequences.

But just as organized slavery was ultimately broken up and driven from Africa, so after years of

* *African World*, February 15th, 1913.

agitation the crudest forms of compulsory labour for private profit were driven from most African territories. Within recent years the second form of compulsory labour has fastened itself upon large areas of Africa ; the system which deprives the native inhabitants of every right to their lands and their produce, thus consigning the tribes to slavery. Nineteenth century slavery took the African from the land and thereby enslaved him ; twentieth century slavery took the land from the African and then enslaved him on his own soil.

Just at this point it is essential that a stupid prejudice which obscures vital issues should be faced, and, if possible, removed. This prejudice arises in connection with events in the lives of two men who, in their respective ways, were prominently concerned with the exposure and removal of the Congo abomination, *events which occurred* subsequent to the acknowledged, and remedied, evils of which the Congo was for twenty years the scene.

Roger Casement's actions upon the outbreak of War have passed into history. Comment upon them here would be out of place. But Roger Casement's report, issued by His Majesty's Government *eleven years before the War*, when the writer of it was British Consul in the Congo, remains to-day what it then was—viz., the first of many official documents issued by the British Government on Congo conditions. Roger Casement's subsequent actions are entirely irrelevant to the Congo problem.

The attempt to invalidate the indictment

against the Congo system and its effects, because the views expressed by Mr. E. D. Morel on the origin of the War do not harmonize with the views held by a great majority of British subjects, is even more grotesque. Mr. Morel's opinions on the origin of the War, whether wrong or right, have nothing whatever to do with the part he played in disseminating and marshalling facts and presenting arguments relating to the Congo problem over a long course of years antecedent to the War.

To suggest that the evidence of a crowd of independent witnesses belonging to a dozen different nationalities, a long series of Consular Reports, to say nothing of the official admissions of the Commission of Investigation sent out by King Leopold himself, lose any of their force because of the Casement tragedy, and because Mr. Morel has differed from most people in the War, is to push prejudice to really ludicrous lengths.

Reactionary forces in Africa will win if the leaders of public opinion and the Christian Church can be side-tracked upon irrelevant issues, and one of the primary objects of this book is that of saving the forces of Christianity from being hoodwinked, which would in all probability lead to a new martyrdom of the African races.

There are certain fixed points which stand out as well-defined and established as the everlasting hills. The first of these is the system itself. Thomas Edison knows that by the combination X.Y.Z. he can produce the high explosive T.N.T. If it were suggested that the same combination

of elements, made by Sir Oliver Lodge, would produce, say, milk and bread, both scientists would consign to a lunatic asylum anyone insane enough to put forth such a suggestion.

In the sphere of administration the same law operates. Trained administrators, like the late Lord Cromer, Lord Selborne, Sir Hugh Clifford, Sir Sydney Olivier and Sir Harry Johnston, know that, given certain elemental conditions, very definite results must follow. Thus it came about that once the Congo system became known, no experienced administrator needed to be told that atrocities occurred—it could not be otherwise. The Belgian nation was in no sense responsible for the introduction of this system. It was merely the coincidence of a commercially-minded ruler acting in a dual capacity which appeared to involve the nation in a measure of responsibility. Nor was King Leopold alone responsible ; true, he was the active head of a group of financiers—Belgian, French, American, and even one or two British, who battened upon the miseries of the Congo people. The only material advantage which Belgium reaped was that very large sums were spent by King Leopold upon beautifying Louvain and supplying that city with invaluable art treasures and heavy subsidies to certain religious institutions and providing palatial residences for ladies whose characters would not bear examination. The fact that the Belgian Government and people have destroyed the system, root and branch, renders civilization the debtor of the Belgian nation, and more especially of the present

King, whose insistence in visiting the Congo was due in no small measure to his determination that the Belgian Government should root out the system which King Leopold had planted. It must be recognized first that—

- (a) The indigenous African, in his economic capacity, possesses three things—(1) his labour, (2) his land, (c) the virgin wealth of the land.
- (b) The indigenous African alone can gather the virgin wealth of that land.
- (c) Take from the African the whole of the land with its virgin wealth and nothing is left but the labour which alone can gather the wealth.

This latter *was* the Congo system as introduced by King Leopold. There was no question here of “allegation,” it was not denied, it was admitted, but the system could not stop at that point—heading for disaster it had to go there. The Congo State having assumed ownership of the lands and virgin produce, obliterated commerce, thereby the native had nothing to sell to the merchant! But of what use was all this land and produce to the State and its allied companies? White men from Europe could not gather it; millions of Chinese, it is true, could have been imported, but at a colossal expense to the employer and certain death to the labourer. There was only left the obvious alternative of forcing the natives to gather for the State and its chartered companies the property of

which they had been robbed. But, again, how was this to be done ? For generations the native had gathered and sold his produce at the market value ; that produce was his no longer ; all he now had to sell was his labour, and this he was naturally unwilling to do for the purpose of gathering what had now become the property of the whites and which but yesterday was his own ! The next procedure was inevitable, namely, the further proposition that taxation being equitable, and the native having now no means of paying taxes, should graciously be given the right of defraying his obligation in labour which could be used at the discretion of the white man to gather the natural produce—rubber and ivory—which by administrative enactment had passed from native ownership to the hands of the white man !

That the native of Africa or any other human being would acquiesce in this outrageous swindle was, of course, inconceivable ; force was necessary—and force of the most appalling kind. This, then, was the basis of a system which no intelligent man needed to be told would lead to atrocities.

The foregoing description of the system would not, cannot be, denied ; but the closer it is examined the more hideous are its features. There is no need to go outside official records to prove the monstrous nature of this gigantic evil which afflicted, and in some parts still afflicts, Africa, and, what is even more alarming, shows signs of revival, even in British territories.

King Leopold, driven by the force of public opinion, appointed his own Commission of

Inquiry, the members of which were paid by him, reported to him, and whose report he disposed of as he would. In quoting textually from that report no charge of "exaggerated allegation" can be made. What did the Commissioners themselves say upon the most fundamental element in this system?

" Apart from the rough plantations, which barely suffice to feed the natives themselves and to supply the stations, all the fruits of the soil are considered as the property of the State or of the Concessionaire Societies."

" All the fruits of the soil," every article of marketable value, was thus alienated from the native. Was there ever such a colossal theft in the world's history? Millions of natives robbed of every commodity of vegetable value upon over 500,000,000 acres of their land—and this an official admission of King Leopold's Government.

The ownership of land, then, had gone; the ownership of virgin produce had gone; where, then, is the evidence that conquest of labour followed? The same Commission reported:

" It is only by making of work an obligation that the native will be made to furnish regular labour, and that the necessary work will be obtained to exploit the natural riches of the country, and profit by its resources.

" The labour tax is, moreover, the only impost possible on the Congo, because the native as a general rule possesses nothing beyond

his hut, his weapons, and a few plantations strictly necessary for his subsistence. A tax having riches as its basis would not be possible. If, therefore, one recognizes to the Congo State, as to any other State, the right of demanding from the people the resources necessary for the existence and development of that State, one must obviously recognize that it possesses the right to claim from them the one thing they are in a position to give, that is to say, a certain *summum* of labour."

Thus was the native of the Congo despoiled in turn of the threefold elements of his economic capacity ; robbed of these he necessarily became a slave, and the only remaining problem was that of machinery which always has and always must include the whip, the prison-house, torture and murder.

Before calling upon evidence of the machinery, let it be remembered that the actual evidence tendered upon oath to King Leopold's Commission of Inquiry was of so frightful a nature that to this day it has never been published ! It may be the Germans discovered this during their occupation of Brussels, but more probable is the opinion that King Leopold caused the Records to be destroyed before his death. This procedure is without precedent in historic inquiries, for usually the Report is the first document, each paragraph of which reposes upon the appended evidence. But in spite of this significant omission of the evidence, the general conclusions in the

Report, and the machinery used to apply the system, were of a most damning nature.

The claim to forced labour was covered by the legal fiction that the native was bound to give forty hours of labour per month in lieu of taxation—on the face of it a perfectly equitable demand, but in practice it was, as it always must be, utterly pernicious. The labour was allotted to commercial interests whose prime function was profit for shareholders, and therefore the tax-masters who received proportionate commission had every interest in extending by one means or another the demand far beyond forty hours per month. To this initial abuse was added the impossibility of fixing forty hours' work in the distant forests, which led to the substitution of a quantity of prepared rubber in lieu of those "forty hours." The quantity of rubber was in turn fixed solely by the man who received a commission upon every kilogramme of rubber he forced the native to collect. Could a more vicious system of slavery be devised? The evidence in the Report to King Leopold admitted this:

"Numbers of agents only thought of one thing: to obtain as much as possible in the shortest possible time, and their demands were often excessive."

This stage brings the reader to the threshold of an African charnel-house. How could the men of Africa be forced to gather the rubber? If they were imprisoned they obviously could not gather rubber; flogging was tried, but was ineffec-

tive, for the horrors of the dismal forests, the decreasing sources of supply, conflicts with hostile tribes driven to seek rubber for agents on other rivers, and a variety of local difficulties prevented the collection of rubber in quantities sufficient to satisfy the white agents on the spot or the shareholders in Europe.

In the authoritative language of the Commission is thus defined this terrible ordeal of rubber collection :

The native “is deprived of his wife, exposed to the inclemencies of the weather and the attacks of wild beasts. When once he has collected the rubber he must bring it to the State station or to that of the Company, and only then can he return to his village, where he can sojourn for barely more than two or three days, because the next demand is upon him.”

There was in the end no escape from the catastrophe of an avalanche of horror and bloodshed. The men being required in the forests, imprisonment was futile, and flogging only partially effective, therefore the idea was evolved of hitting the native where he would feel it most—outrage his women, chain them, imprison them, flog them; go yet further, strike at the children also, chain and imprison them if old enough, if not, club them to death or cut their throats. This it was correctly thought would drive the men either to increased production or death—and it did, for countless thousands of men, refusing to forsake their wives and children, were brutally slaughtered. King

Leopold allowed the report of the Commission to lift but the corner of the veil, but even the restricted glimpse the public gets is horrible enough :

“ It was barely denied that . . . the imprisonment of women hostages, the subjection of the chiefs to servile labour, the humiliations meted out to them, the flogging of rubber collectors, the brutality of the black employés set over the prisoners, were the rule commonly followed.”

The brutal conduct of the native taskmasters is then described. The missionaries of all denominations, the Commission said—

“ brought before the Commission a multitude of native witnesses, who revealed a large number of crimes and excesses alleged to have been committed by the sentinels. According to the witnesses these auxiliaries, especially those stationed in the villages, abuse the authority conferred upon them, convert themselves into despots, claiming the women and the food, not only for themselves but for the body of parasites and creatures without any calling which a love of rapine causes to become associated with them, and with whom they surround themselves as with a veritable bodyguard ; *they kill without pity all those who attempt to resist their exigencies and whims.*”*

* Italics mine.

And finally—

“Of how many abuses have these native sentinels been guilty it would be impossible to say, even approximately. Several chiefs of Baringa, brought us, according to the native custom, bundles of sticks, each of which was meant to show one of their subjects killed by the Capitas. One of them showed 120 murders in his village committed during the last few years.

“The Agents interrogated by the Commission, or who were present at the audiences, did not even attempt to deny the charges brought against the sentinels.”

This, then, is the official confirmation of the enslavement, the torture, the flogging and the murder inflicted upon millions of men, women and children of the Congo under a system which arose and must always arise from depriving natives in tropical and semi-tropical regions of their lands and natural produce. It was applied in French Congo with precisely the same results, and it behoves every student of history to grasp the cardinal fact that the imposition of such atrocious systems in any degree will produce in that same degree slave owning, slave trading, disease, torture and murder, and not infrequently massacre.

CHAPTER III

MODERN SLAVERY—PORTUGUESE

“Contract Labour.”

“IN the name of Almighty God” all the European and American Powers solemnly reaffirmed in 1885 and in 1890 their detestation and abhorrence of slave owning and slave trading. Having summoned the Omnipotent Father of men to witness this solemn declaration against man-stealing and man-owning, they proceeded to draft a whole series of articles and decrees for united effort in the abolition of slavery. Whilst the European delegates were sitting and in solemn conclave expressing this abhorrence of man-stealing and man-owning, the Portuguese territories of Angola in West Africa were being traversed by thousands of men, women and children, shackled, chained and driven to the plantations of the Atlantic seaboard;—other thousands were being shipped and sent across the ocean to the cocoa plantations of the two tiny but remarkably fertile islands of San Thomé and Principe.

The purpose of this slavery was sugar and rum manufacture in Angola, and the more valuable production of cocoa upon the islands of San Thomé and Principe. These two islands situated in the

Bights of West Africa have a combined area only slightly larger than the Isle of Man and yet their fertility is such that they produce annually about £1,000,000 worth of cocoa beans.

For years allegations had been made that this cocoa was produced by slave labour, but missionaries, travellers and consuls visiting the islands saw little actual evidence of slave owning. When enquiries were made the Portuguese, whose hospitality is proverbial, readily entertained their visitors with liberal fare and still more liberal descriptions of the excellent laws passed for the protection of "contract labourers." These laws decreed that the "contract" should be for five years, that care should be exercised in the provision of food and medical attendance, that wages should be paid regularly, and that deductions should only be made and invested for the purpose of giving a "bonus" to the labourers on the expiration of their contracts. Next that a regular census should be taken and submitted to the Protector of the contracted labourer. Could anything be fairer or more considerate? It was only after long and patient labour that it was all found to be mere camouflage; the laws were on paper only, there was no census kept at all, in most cases there were no "contracts," consequently the term of labour never expired, the deductions were made from the "wages" regularly enough, but instead of being invested, large sums went into the pockets of the planters, where it still remains, whilst the death-rate amongst the slaves was and is to-day appalling!

From 1905 onwards, real exposure became more pronounced. Messrs. H. W. Nevinson, Swan, Joseph Burtt, and especially certain British cocoa firms, spent time and money and ran great risks all for the single purpose of finding out the truth, and when at last the truth was known, a large part of the civilized world was shocked at the revelation.

It was first discovered that for many years at least 4,000 men, women and children had been shipped to the islands, and next that the route over which these people came from the heart of Africa was strewn with that tell-tale evidence of slave trade—shackles and bleaching bones of countless dead. Colonel Colin Harding, travelling from Rhodesia westwards in 1902, found, as he says :

“ The wayside trees are simply hung with disused shackles, some to hold one, some two, three, and even six slaves ; skulls and bones bleached by the sun lie where the victims fell, and gape with helpless grin on those who pass, a damning evidence of a horrible traffic.”*

Mr. Joseph Burtt, the investigator for the cocoa firms, when travelling eastwards from Catumbella, soon came right upon this evidence of the slave traffic :

“ It was not long before we found skeletons and shackles. These shackles are blocks of wood, in which an oblong hole is hewn to admit

* *In Remotest Barotseland.* Hurst & Blackett.

the hands or feet. A stout peg is then driven through the side, dividing the ankles or wrists, and making withdrawal impossible. They vary in size and shape. I saw some intended for women's hands, with a fork for the neck. A long heavy pole is sometimes used, and must be a terrible instrument attached to the neck. In the gully of a dry stream-bed, where we stayed to rest, a few yards from where we sat, and under the side of an overhanging rock, we saw the decomposing corpse of a man. Hard by lay a small basket, a large wooden spoon, a native mat, and a few filthy clothes. The dead man lay on his back, with his limbs spread out, probably as he had died, left hopelessly weak by a gang going down to the coast. Another skeleton lay within a few yards, making five we had seen in a few hours' march."

This universal distribution of shackles has impressed every traveller in Angola, and is, moreover, a piece of evidence so conclusive and damning that it shatters every single one of the specious arguments advanced by the defenders of the Portuguese planters. Consuls, missionaries and travellers all emphasized the prevalence of discarded shackles. The presence of shackles on board ship has always been accepted as conclusive evidence of slave traffic, and less than this cannot be conceded to the same evidence upon land.

Not less tangible, and surely more eloquently horrible, was the manner in which the highways and byways in Central Africa were strewn with

the bleaching bones of countless thousands of dead. There were dozens of these highways of bleached bones leading inland from Benguella in the South to San Antonio in the North. H. W. Nevinson says of the journey he took :

“The path is strewn with dead men’s bones. You see the white thigh-bones lying in front of your feet, and at one side, among the under-growth, you find the skull. These are the skeletons of slaves who have been unable to keep up with the march, and so were murdered or left to die.”

The average price at which the slave was sold at the Angola ports was from £30 to £40. Consul Nightingale in 1911 reported the price to be £50 a pair. Mr. Burtt quoted £25-£40 as the value, Mr. Nevinson £30. During the libel action in Birmingham, Messrs. Cadbury produced a document showing that they had been offered a plantation on San Thomé for a given sum, and included in the assets were “200 black labourers £3,555,” or about £18 a head, young and old taken together. If we reckon 70,000 at £18 a head as the total imported into San Thomé and the sister island of Principe since that memorable day in 1885 when the Portuguese Plenipotentiary, surely with his tongue in his cheek, solemnly denounced slave-owning before Almighty God, it gives an import of slaves worth from £2,250,000 to £2,500,000.

But this is not the whole story of the Portuguese crime, for large numbers of slaves were obtained for the sugar plantations of Angola, and moreover

the 70,000 shipped involved a terrible human wastage whilst travelling along that 1,000 to 2,000 mile road to the coast. If we reckon the number taken by the mainland plantation equal to that for the islands involving a combined total of 150,000 it is probable that the whole traffic exceeded 500,000. Mr. Burtt tells us that :

“ A dealer once admitted that if he got six out of every ten natives to Bihe he was lucky, but sometimes only three survived the journey. This was due not only to the physical strain of tramping nearly seven hundred miles under miserable conditions, but to the fact that the captives were often so hopeless that they refused to eat. Many who were seen to be of no value received a mortal wound, or were left to die of hunger. Cases of incredible cruelty were constantly witnessed.”

Not until the year 1908 had a single one of these thousands of men, women or children been allowed to return across the sea to the mainland ; in that year, owing to the commencement of really serious agitation in England and America, ten slaves were repatriated. From the year 1908 until to-day constant pressure has been exerted publicly and privately through the British Foreign Office upon the Portuguese Government and with some success.

There is good reason to hope that the old system of slave-trading on the mainland has disappeared and that the present contract system, whilst open to criticism, is a system of free

agreement—at least in the initial stages. At the commencement of the agitation in 1908 there were probably about 40,000 slaves, when the liberations and repatriations began by the emancipation during that year of the ten slaves already mentioned. The liberations have increased until there have been set free and restored to Africa about 10,000, leaving on the islands to-day from 20,000 to 30,000 slaves.

The British nation, by reason of her Alliance with Portugal as the guarantor and potential defender of her colonies, has a special responsibility in this matter. This Alliance, which the British Government recently stated was in full force, pledges Great Britain "to defend and protect all Conquests or Colonies belonging to the Crown of Portugal against all its enemies as well in future as present." Thus if any one or more Powers signatory either to the Berlin or Brussels Act should awake to their clear rights and solemn responsibilities and proceed by any show of force to insist upon the abolition of slavery and slave-trade in Portuguese colonies, the maritime and land forces of Great Britain could under this Alliance be forthwith summoned to protect these Portuguese colonies against the "Aggressors."

Mr. St. Loe Strachey, the Editor of the *Spectator*, rightly says :

" Either the Portuguese must put an end to slave owning, slave trading and slave raiding in the Colonial possessions which we now guarantee to them, or else our guarantee must at once and for ever cease."

CHAPTER IV

INDIAN IMMIGRATION

Of all the economic, political and religious problems of Africa that of Asiatic immigration looms right in the forefront. India and the Indians will assuredly play as large a part in the development of Africa as the white races of Europe and America. But the European is to-day demanding the exclusion of the Indian and the Chinese colonists, except as a temporary labour expedient. This attitude is as unjust and un-Christian as it is impolitic.

The white races of South and East Africa have about as much right to deny the people of India ingress into Africa as they have to forbid the waves rolling up the sea-shore. The people of India colonized the Eastern littoral and hinterland of Africa generations before the British and German, and thus have established their right of equality to, if not precedence in, colonization. Indian and Arabian emigration certainly took place as early as the dawn of the sixteenth century.* The immigrants from this date up to 1850 or thereabouts were traders and colonists in the fullest sense of the word. From 1895

* Cd. 5192. 1910.

onwards there has been an influx of indentured labourers and so useful has the Indian labourer become that in 1910 Sir John Kirk declared with regard to East Africa : "Drive away the Indians and you may shut up the Protectorate, I think."

For well nigh half a century there has been conflict between the India Office and Government on the one hand, and on the other the white settlers of the Dominions and Dependencies. The India Office has consistently maintained that the Indian should enter the colonial territories as a potential citizen; the white settlers have always insisted that the Indian should serve them as a hewer of wood and drawer of water, and when they have no further use for him he should "clear out," bag and baggage, and go back to India. British responsibility in India, elementary justice and Christian duty demand that this situation should not be prolonged, and that British Indians should, regardless of race, nationality or colour, emigrate to the colonies on precisely the same conditions as any other British subject.

To the late Marquis of Salisbury is due the first formal declaration of India's right in the colonies. In his memorable despatch of March 24th, 1875, he said :

"Above all things we must confidently expect, as an indispensable condition of the proposed arrangements, that the Colonial laws and their administration will be such that Indian settlers who have completed the terms

of service to which they agreed, as the return for the expense of bringing them to the Colonies, *will be in all respects free men, with privileges no whit inferior to those of any other class of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the Colonies.*"*

This sound expression of statecraft is unhappily in contrast with the perfectly outrageous demands of the white settlers. Sir Thomas Hyslop, speaking in 1913 to a resolution moved at the African Agricultural Union in Natal upon the question of the £3 licence, is reported to have said :

"The effect of the licence is to prevent Indians from settling in the country. It is extended to Colonial-born Indians now, and if the licence were abolished Indians would have the choice of remaining in the country as free men. We want Indians as indentured labourers, but not as free men."†

Could anything be more brutally frank ?

In 1903 Lord Milner informed Mr. Joseph Chamberlain that the "question of labour is beginning to assume a really alarming aspect," and suggested that steps should be taken to secure "10,000 coolies from India," but

"the only thing we cannot do, in view of public feeling in this country, is to bring coolies here without promise that they shall be sent back when their term is over."‡

* Cd. 5192. 1910. Italics mine.

† *The Times*, November 19th, 1913. ‡ Cd. 1683.

Thus the demand of the whites in South and East Africa is consistently that of a supply of Indian labour and with it a rigid denial of the elementary rights of British citizenship. But this same attitude is adopted in the British East African Protectorate. In 1913 the Nairobi Government issued the report of a Labour Commission, the recommendation of the majority being as follows :

“A majority of the Commission therefore recommends that though indentured labour is generally objected to for the reasons given, if the necessity of it for large works or plantations on the coast is proved, Asiatics be imported on indenture, but only on two conditions :

- (1) that repatriation is insisted upon, and
- (2) that legislation is introduced for each separate project.”

But the problem of Indian immigration does not stop with the industrious and law-abiding coolie, there is the constant influx into East and South Africa of the thrifty Indian merchant. There is also the influx of children and polygamous “wives” of Indians. To the desire of the white planter for coolie labour, and coolie labour only, is added the difficulty of competing with the time-expired coolie and the Indian trader. The coolie, industrious and thrifty, can make two blades of grass grow where the white man only obtains one. From his 5s. a week he will somehow surround himself with live-stock, which thrives upon the offal of

the estate ; he will plant a patch of rice in waste corners of land the white man despises, and thus, when his indenture expires, he has at hand a "nest egg" of capital with which he can launch out in competition with the white man. The white colonist endeavouring to compete with the free Indian soon finds himself beaten, with the result that in Natal, as in other parts of the Empire, the demand is for the Indian labourer without Lord Salisbury's "indispensable condition." The India Office knows full well that the prosperity of the Crown Colonies in the East and West Indies is due mainly to the Indian coolie ; that the dominating influence of the Orient in the world's rubber market is also due to the same Indian coolie ; that British tropical supplies, which are pouring into this country in ever-increasing volume, are only to be maintained by supplying sparsely populated territories with surplus Indian labour, but the India Office also realizes that this supply must be under conditions acceptable alike to Indian and British public opinion. To this economic difficulty is added the repugnance of South Africa to a spread of polygamy to which uncontrolled Indian immigration would undoubtedly lead. It was this situation which led South Africa to impose the £3 licence upon Indian settlers and which in 1913 led to such grave disorders.

The Botha Government had found that the Indian population tended to attract to itself : children to join parents, wives to husbands already married, artisans, domestics and indeed

every class good and bad from the Indian Empire. Confronted with this situation, which offended the susceptibilities of the white Britishers in Natal, and far more those of the Dutch in the Cape, Transvaal and Orange River Colony, General Botha himself sanctioned and then secured Imperial approval of the discriminating poll tax of £3 per annum. At the same time every other means, open and covert, were adopted to prevent immigration. This racial conflict led in the first place to an "illicit" movement accompanied by every form of bribery : Lord Selborne gave details of a case where one Indian paid £400 a month to a police inspector and £200 a month to a police sergeant, or £7,200 a year to the two officers with a view to securing their assistance in "smuggling" Indians into Natal. This racial and political conflict developed during the years 1906-1914 when it was brought to a head by the passive resistance movement. The strike of Europeans in the Transvaal gave Mr. Gandhi an opportunity of demonstrating the reasonableness of the Indian community—an opportunity he wisely and promptly seized by giving an undertaking not to press the Indian case during this period of administrative embarrassment. Meanwhile a deputation had left South Africa to join Mr. Gokhale in England, where efforts were being made to bring home to the Imperial Government and the British public the growing gravity of the situation.

The peaceful efforts of the law-abiding Indian community, the wise conduct of the Indian

leaders and the diplomatic attitude of the Imperial Government failed to conciliate the Union Government or to modify materially their administrative action, with the result that the struggle was renewed more bitterly and much more widely. Mass meetings were held in Durban, Johannesburg and throughout the Union. From India there poured forth a continuous stream of indignant resolutions and ample funds for financing the just protests of the Indians in South Africa. Lord Hardinge by his courageous speech in Madras saved the situation for the British Commonwealth, and thereby established himself for all time in the affection of the people of India. Lord Ampthill, in England, by his energetic challenge to Britain's sense of justice, coupled with the action of Lord Hardinge in India, convinced both the Imperial and South African Governments that something both immediate and adequate must be done. A Commission was appointed and its report adopted almost completely, with the result that, to quote an Indian writer :

“ The movement commenced with a demand for the repeal of the Transvaal Act 2 of 1907. The Act was repealed and its threatened extension to other parts of South Africa was completely prevented. At the beginning, racial legislation against Indians was threatened, so as to drive them from the Colony. The settlement has removed the possibility of racial legislation against Indians throughout the

Empire. The system of indentured immigration from India, that had been regarded almost as a permanent feature of South African economics, has been ended. The hated £3 tax has been repealed and its attendant misery and insult destroyed. Vested rights, that were tending everywhere to disappear, are to be maintained and protected. The bulk of Indian marriages, that had never previously received the sanction of South African law, are henceforth to be fully recognized in law. But above and beyond all this is the new spirit of conciliation that has resulted from the hardships, the sufferings, the sacrifices of the Passive Resisters. The flag of legal racial equality has been kept flying, and it is now recognized that Indians have rights and aspirations and ideals that cannot be ignored."

But this struggle dealt only with superficial grievances, all the seeds of future trouble remain—discriminating racial legislation by the Union against Indians and Indian immigrants has been abolished, but the root of the mischief is still to be found in racial antipathy which still expresses itself in racial disabilities. To-day in South Africa this racial antagonism finds expression in quite material disabilities. In the first place the 100,000 Indians in the Union territories, no matter how highly educated, no matter how large their material interests, are denied any voice in the government of the countries for the maintenance of which they provide a substantial part

of revenue. This constitutes a breach of faith of capital importance, for no matter what may be said to the contrary South and East Africa accepted the original coolies upon the "no whit inferior" condition imposed by Lord Salisbury in 1875.

There is to-day one outstanding grievance in the Union territories of South Africa. In the Transvaal and Orange River provinces the Indian is denied by an old Republican law the right to own fixed property in his own name. The Indian communities can only purchase and register such fixed properties in Natal and the Cape.

This policy is not merely grossly inequitable, but utterly stupid, for as always a way has been found to circumvent this boycott which in turn has led to administrative chaos. An "underground" practice has grown up whereby Europeans, sympathetic towards and trusted by Indians, are receiving from them the savings of Indian labour and commerce and are purchasing land and property for them. These Europeans declare themselves owners and are so registered, whilst bonds covering the transaction are passed between the Indians and their trusted European friends. There can be no denial of the fact that these transactions are widespread and it has been asserted that a well-known South African business house has carried through transactions of this nature totalling over one million sterling! There has grown up quite recently a new practice whereby Indians—frequently only the Indian and his wife—have formed themselves into small

companies for the purchase and registration of fixed properties. This practice is quite legal and at the same time does give the Indians a way through the racial disqualification which South Africa has imposed upon them.

But the whites are angrily demanding that steps be taken to prevent the Indian community from finding these outlets for the investment of their surplus capital, oblivious of the fact that natural laws must always prove the stronger. To this demand for further oppressive and discriminating legislation is added every form of petty irritation—the refusal of trading licences upon the slightest pretext, the denial of entry to public conveniences built by the aid of Indian revenue, the bar against travel on municipal means of transport, in fact by every form of opposition and even intrigue to reduce British Indians to a condition of social and economic helotry, the result of which can only be to foster disaffection or squeeze out of South Africa the ablest and best elements of the Indian community.

The duty of the Christian Church is quite clear—the followers of Christ can never silently permit the imposition of disabilities upon the sole basis of differing race or colour. The restriction of civil rights can be defended possibly from the standpoint of education or of vested interests in a particular country—it can never be defended exclusively upon a colour or racial basis. In the bitter struggle which will soon reopen it must be insisted that any member of the Indian Empire

is entitled as a British subject to enter any British territory with full potential rights of citizenship, subject always to the general condition that the immigrant is prepared to accept and abide by the laws and customs prevailing in the territory which he adopts as his future home. Any other attitude is impossible in an Empire—and a Christian Empire too—which is composed of well over 400,000,000 of people representing all races and creeds.

PART III

- I. THE AFRICAN AND HIS LAND
- II. TROPICAL AND SEMI-TROPICAL LANDS



CHAPTER I

THE AFRICAN AND HIS LAND

THE supreme issue of life to the African is his land ; franchise, cattle, industry, labour and polygamy each involve their respective difficulties, but relatively land overtops each and all of them. Take from the African his political or personal freedom, take his cattle, or even his wife and children, and he will tolerate the injustice, but touch his land and he will stake all in battle, no matter what the forces arrayed against him. Take the land, back the robbery with rifles, machine guns and "heavies," and the African will still face the "bloody music" with primitive spear, bow and arrow—the terrible odds make the struggle hopeless, but as the African has said so many times in history, "Take my land and you take my life," therefore, he argues, as well lose life by bullet or cannon-shell as by being robbed of land.

The European conception of the commercial ownership of land is totally alien to primitive native thought ; a century ago almost any of the tribes in Africa would have looked upon the sale of tribal lands as an act of the most revolting kind. Land to the primitive African is one of three component parts of African social and

economic life—sun, water, land, represent to the native mind not three elements, but a single element, the supreme object of which is the provision of human sustenance. This machinery is so inter-dependent that the primitive African would be as horrified at the alienation and sale of land as of water or sun. It thus follows that the ownership of land is nowhere vested in the individual but in the whole race inhabiting a particular area, whilst every member of the tribe possesses as much right to the usage of adequate land as he does to the usage of an adequate share of the warmth of the sun or a draught of water from the local spring.

It may be assumed that such tribal ownership precludes immigrant settlers—it does nothing of the kind ! It precludes monopoly, it shuts out self-interest it is true, but there are adequate means by which any man, no matter of what race, creed or colour, may obtain secure title to occupancy right of adequate land. The immigrant entering tribal areas would be confronted not with a question as to what land he requires and at what price, but with the initial question of whether or not he is a fit and proper person to become part of the tribal order. If it is decided that the immigrant is a suitable person to enter the community, the allotment of land follows as naturally as the gift of a wife, for the African believes it to be the first duty of man to multiply and replenish the earth.

Over the greater part of Africa this primitive conception has been shattered by the influx of the

white races—exploitation and the concessionaire have done their fell work of goading the native to rebellion and then confiscating his land rights ; in some parts a hybrid system, partly European and partly African, has taken the place of the old one, but in a few areas efforts have been made by Great Britain to preserve all or nearly all of the best features of the original native land laws. In a very few territories primitive land laws still obtain untouched by inroads of European exploitation.

Within the life-time of the present generation there have been three constructive land policies in the African continent : (1) General Botha's separation policy, (2) Sir Harry Johnston's land settlement of the Uganda Protectorate, (3) Sir Frederick Lugard's policy in Northern Nigeria. Each of these possesses quite peculiar features, but the most far-reaching is that of General Botha in South Africa.

Europe and America know General Botha as a great military leader, South Africa knows him, or will know him, as a great statesman. When General Botha first came to power as the Prime Minister of South Africa, he found land tenure in the four provinces in well-nigh hopeless confusion—whites living on native land, natives living on the land of white men upon every conceivable tenure—just and unjust ; natives owning land and occupying land upon bad tenure and no tenure at all ; native ownership and native occupancy almost everywhere undefined and irregular.

General Botha decided that this condition of affairs could only be prolonged at the peril of widespread disaffection if not rebellion and bloodshed; he therefore decided to fall back upon the principal recommendations of the Lagden Commission of 1903-1905 and divide the 300,000,000 acres of land in South Africa between the white and coloured population.

The recommendations of Sir Godfrey Lagden's Commission upon land were the following :

- (1) That in the interests of both Europeans and natives, purchase of land by natives should be limited to certain areas to be defined by legislative enactment.
- (2) That whatever principles govern the question of purchase of land by natives should apply equally to the leasing of land by natives.
- (3) That unrestrained squatting of natives on private farms, whether as tenants or otherwise, is an evil, and that the principles of the Cape Act of 1899 should be adopted for dealing with it.
- (4) That purchase of land which may lead to tribal or communal or collective possession of land by natives, as opposed to individual ownership, should not be permitted.

The three main effects of the application of these recommendations would be to limit white and native holding to defined areas, to abolish irregular squatting and to encourage individual

ownership. Whatever the advantage or disadvantage of these recommendations, they certainly carried the native land question very much further from primitive conception.

When General Botha's Government decided upon following this course, legislation was introduced and hurriedly passed which provided for an ultimate division of land between the races, and pending such allotment inter-racial land transactions were forbidden ; finally a Commission was set up to advise :

- (a) What areas within the Union of South Africa should be set apart as areas within which Natives shall not be permitted to acquire or hire land or interests in land ;
- (b) What areas within the Union of South Africa should be set apart as areas within which persons other than Natives shall not be permitted to acquire or hire land or interests in land ;

and further to inquire into and report upon any matters incidental to the setting apart of such areas which may be placed before them by the Minister of Native Affairs.

This legislation and the speed with which it was rushed through the South African Parliament caused a storm throughout South Africa in the early part of 1914.

The natives were greatly alarmed at the restrictive features of the proposals, whilst the farmers, equally alarmed at, and misunderstanding the

temporary condition with regard to squatting, commenced ejecting the squatter families. This alarm and the unnecessary trek of squatters led to the infliction of hardships and suffering. The missionaries, divided upon the wisdom of the measure according to their individual comprehension of its provisions and justly indignant at the suffering caused by even this modified application of the policy, did their best to dissipate prevailing ignorance and to mitigate the hardships by direct personal and collective appeals to the Government. In the meantime Imperial sanction had been accorded to the principle of the 1913 legislation.

It is of capital importance to bear in mind that General Botha's policy is not *segregation* of peoples, but a *separation* of land ownership; in the words of the terms of reference to the land Commission, to advise the Government upon what lands should be placed at the disposal of the whites and what to the natives. There was nothing in the legislation which precluded an inter-mixing of the races for social, religious or industrial purposes.

Although the natives were profoundly disturbed at these proposals, it is also important to bear in mind that they did not oppose the bed-rock principle of this legislation, for in their official communication to the South African Government the President of the South African Native National Congress said, in an appeal for postponement of the measure and for further safeguards for native rights :

“ We make no protest against the principle of separation so far as it can be fairly and practically carried out.”*

General Botha, in reply, gave to the Congress the following assurances :

- (1) That legislation would be introduced for *gradual* expropriation of land held by any white man or native.
- (2) Legislation would provide secure title both for collective and individual ownership.
- (3) That Native Councils would be created for dealing with purely native affairs.

This was the position when an “ area ” Commission was set up under the Chairmanship of Sir William Beaumont to define areas for White and Coloured occupation. The natives pointed out with very considerable force that no native had been appointed on this Commission, but their appeal for direct representation was without avail; General Botha refused to appoint a native, and the Commission started on its labours, which by legislation were limited to a period of two years, ultimately extended to three years upon the outbreak of war.

When the Beaumont Commission issued its report it had been preceded by two definite stages—(a) the Lagden Commission of 1903-5, (b) General Botha’s 1913 legislation providing for a separation of land interests. The Beaumont

* Cd. 7508.

report was published in March, 1916, or two years and nine months from the date of its appointment.

The outstanding feature of the Beaumont report was its recommendation that the land placed at the disposal of the natives should be nearly doubled, or an increase of nearly 20,000,000 acres. At the same time this only gave to the 4,000,000 natives a maximum of 40,000,000 acres, whilst placing at the disposal of the 1,100,000 whites over 260,000,000. Whatever may be said for or against this distribution, it cannot be regarded as generous to the natives.

The following table shows the native situation at a glance as it stood at the time of the Beaumont recommendations :

NATIVE POPULATION AND LAND OCCUPANCY
(*Approximate.*)

	Population.	PRESENT.		FUTURE.	
		Total Occupancy.	Per Capita.	Scheduled Areas.	Per Capita.
(a) Cape Colony	1,900,000	13,000,000	7	16,200,000	8½
(b) Trans- vaal	1,200,000	2,400,000	2	13,500,000	11¼
(c) Natal	1,000,000	6,100,000	6	10,200,000	10
(d) Orange Free State	350,000	163,000	4	489,000	1½

The injustice is not merely in the division of the land but in the quality of it—large areas of land set aside are declared to be without water and therefore unfit for grazing, other areas are malarial and unfit for human habitation.

The next stage in the development of General Botha's assumed task of "reshuffling" the populations in South Africa was taken by the introduction of a new Bill in 1917 under the title of Native Affairs Administration Act.

This Act automatically repealed the 1913 Land Act, although maintaining the principles of the measure. At the same time it provided for an elasticity of the boundaries in the native areas. This was a great improvement upon previous legislation because it provided for the increase of population.

But the most important feature of this legislation was the creation of a permanent Commission for Native Affairs in a manner without parallel in Britain's dominions. The constitution is quite unique in several respects. The Minister for Native Affairs is Chairman of the Commission, and is to be assisted by not less than three and not more than five persons nominated by the Governor-General. Each member of the Commission will hold office for five years, but he cannot be a member of either the House of Assembly or the Senate.

The duty of this Commission is to advise the Minister upon all matters relating to the general administration of and the legislation for the native areas. But quite the most interesting feature is the power which the members of this Commission can exercise over the Minister. If, for example, he refuses to accept the advice of the Commission or acts contrary to its decisions, the records of his action and an explanation of the

attitude adopted by the Commission may at the request of either party be submitted to the arbitrament of the Governor-General. This astonishing and somewhat democratic principle goes even further, for both Governor-General and Minister for Native Affairs may be "reported" to Parliament, and the final clause in the Bill provides that if the recommendations of the Commission have not been accepted either by the Minister or by the Governor-General then the Minister "shall, upon the request of the Commission, lay the records before both houses of Parliament."

The probability is that legislation will yet take some years to complete and the process of redistribution generations to accomplish. What, then, should be done to secure a just evolution of General Botha's policy in order to bring it within the conditions rightly laid down by the Native National Congress—that the principles of the 1913 Act must be "fairly and practically carried out." These conditions are covered generally by the three words—*Sufficiency*—*Suitability*—*Security*; given these conditions the natives would undoubtedly be willing to accept for the whole Union territories the land settlement by General Botha.

Of these three conditions General Botha's policy supplies to-day but one—security. The legislation already passed and that which has been promised proceeds upon the hypothesis that land now allotted to the natives will be inalienable. From that summer day in 1486 when Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape and landed at Algoa Bay

until the rise of the Botha Government, namely for over four centuries, the native tribes of Africa south of the Limpopo river have never been certain that the lands they occupied would be regarded as their inalienable possession; every reason, every excuse, every species of chicanery and fraud have been practised in order to dispossess these people of the lands they had every right to regard as their own. It will thus be seen that the gift of *security* of tenure is a measure of priceless value to the South African native.

Sufficiency and *Suitability* are of course inter-dependent; it is quite obvious that 50 acres of waterless and rockstrewn land is of less value to the native farmer than 5 acres of fertile land with an adequate water supply. It is notorious that quality for quality the land held by the white farmers is far more fertile and much better fitted for human habitation than the land occupied by the native farmers. The ratio as proposed under the Botha scheme is 260,000,000 acres for 1,100,000 whites and 40,000,000 for 4,000,000 natives. When suitability is taken into consideration the ratio would probably mean not 260 to 40 but something like 260 to 20, or in its relation to population approximately 250 acres per white man as against 5 acres per native.

This disproportion is so scandalously unjust that its perpetuation can only lead to grave racial trouble throughout South Africa. At the same time General Botha has been inundated with protests against so large an allotment of land to the natives!

Confronted with this agitation within the four provinces of South Africa, General Botha ultimately decided to postpone the passing of the Administrative Bill which followed in the wake of the Land Act and which was, in fact, a definite part of the 1913 legislation. But at the same time General Botha appointed five small Committees to examine locally the allegations that the land allotted to the natives was either insufficient or unsuitable.

The reports of these Committees are all in the possession of the Government, but at the time of going to press with this book, only one is available in this country—that of the Eastern Transvaal Committee. This report, unhappily, appears to have confirmed the worst fears of the natives. It had been hoped that the recommendations of this Committee would have been more generous than the Beaumont Commission ; unfortunately, its recommendations are accompanied by much verbose defence of, and long arguments upon, the difficulties which attend any retention of the best lands for natives.

It is much too late in the day to argue that malarious lands which are impossible for the white occupation may be suitable for natives. This attitude belongs to a past age. The natives now on the high veldt of the Eastern Transvaal are for the most part educated, Christian and progressive, and if they are evicted and sent into the low-lying lands of the Transvaal owing to the “necessity” of the whites, there will be trouble in South Africa itself, and it is to be hoped

a storm of protest from sympathetic Christian communities overseas. What are to-day the essentials in the South African land situation?

If a separation of land ownership is to be the settled policy of South Africa, that separation must be fair to all races, giving adequate and secure tenure to every individual, regardless of colour. The land allotted to the natives must not merely be adequate, it must be of suitable quality, it must be healthy, and finally it must include a fair share of drinking water for cattle and springs of water for human consumption. Less than this would constitute a grave injustice to the native inhabitants.

The question at once emerges—what is a fair share of land? This depends upon quality and upon that still more difficult problem, native requirements. The native of South Africa has an insatiable desire to amass, not gold, but cattle, the object being not to breed cattle for the market, but just the love of possessing vast herds of stock. This custom means that large areas of land are wastefully occupied by redundant cattle herds which by “in-breeding” reduce the standard, and multiply with such rapidity that the dreaded “Rinderpest” actually comes as a relief to an intolerable situation to all but the owners of the cattle.

It is surely the duty of the administration to come definitely to grips with this problem of surplus cattle and demonstrate to the native the importance of improving his herd in order to produce cattle fit for the market. Once the native

grasps the advantages of such constructive policy there will be no longer any need to fear redundancy of stock.

Until this cattle problem is solved, it will be impossible for anyone to define what in practice is meant by adequate lands for natives. All that can be said in the meantime is that 40 million acres of land for nearly 5 million natives, and 260 million acres for about 1 million immigrant whites, is grotesquely inequitable and a perpetual source of justifiable unrest throughout the Union of South Africa.

CHAPTER II

TROPICAL AND SEMI-TROPICAL LANDS

THE native systems and the principles of native land law are almost identical in the Central and Southern territories of the Continent, but in South Africa these have been subject to three centuries of dislocation under the pressure of the varying European systems of Dutch and British tenure, so that little remains but the hopeless confusion which to-day confronts the Union Government of South Africa.

There are but two native states outside the Union where the land situation can be regarded as at all satisfactory—Swaziland and Basutoland. Swaziland is a Protectorate under the British Government and will for all time be regarded as one of the most amazing illustrations of the concessionnaire evil. When Lord Selborne endeavoured to bring some order out of the chaos he discovered, in the first place, that every acre of land had been alienated to white men, and thus the native had nowhere to live. Next in confusion he found that concessions overlapped each other territorially; furthermore, one white man had got the land, another had got the trees upon the land, while yet another had got everything

under the land. In point of fact, these concessions went much further ; to one white man certain taxes were conceded, to another telegraphs, to another road-making, and to yet another a trade monopoly. As Lord Selborne humorously remarked : "The number of concessions given were only limited by the available number of boxes of champagne ! "

But the situation did not even end there, for one white man who arrived in Swaziland with the purpose of securing a concession discovered this situation and obtained from the Swazis a concession which granted to him anything and everything that had not been granted to anybody else. But chaos did not even end there. Confusion was worse confounded owing to South African rivalries, through which both Great Britain and President Kruger for the Transvaal Government had agreed to recognize the validity of all these concessions !

The difficult task of unravelling the threads of this confusion was entrusted by the British Government to Mr. George Grey, brother of Viscount Grey, who it will be remembered met with so tragic a fate whilst hunting lions. The recommendations of Mr. George Grey were issued in 1906, and under these most of the Swaziland concessions were cancelled.

Basutoland may roughly be described as a native reserve, or a territory within the confines of which white ownership of land is precluded. Basutoland is, however, confronted with a two-fold land menace. First, the very fact of a white

exclusion constitutes the country a veritable Naborth's Vineyard, and secondly, the remarkable increase of both population and live stock renders the question of legitimate expansion a very serious problem for both the Basutos and their neighbour, the Union Government of South Africa.

Sir Herbert Soley, the ex-administrator of Basutoland, says :

“ I believe the density is about forty-five to the square mile, and when allowance is made for the fact that population is increasing and a considerable proportion of these reserves consists of mountain and forest, it becomes evident that some improved system of intensive culture is necessary if these people are to continue to get their living from the land.”

It will probably be found that the British Imperial policy of restricting the ownership of land to natives will be maintained, but some provision must be made for the surplus population. The suggestion of organizing periodic migrations to the late German territories, attractive though the proposal may be to white men in South Africa, is hardly likely to appeal to those most concerned—the natives of Basutoland.

The South African land problems are rendered immensely difficult wherever white colonization is possible, and this is of course the chief reason why, north of the Zambesi, the only other territory where similar conditions prevail to any appreciable extent is East Africa, where every

excuse is put forward for removing the native from the land he has occupied from time immemorial. In 1912-13 the East African Native Labour Commission published its report. Throughout the 300 pages of its evidence are scattered hundreds of suggestions by white witnesses for obtaining labour by means of cutting down native land—the right to do so is never so much as questioned ! One witness, appending what he calls “a few of my grievances and suggestions,” says :

“ The Native Reserves of this country are unnecessarily large, making it impossible to properly control them and collect the Hut Tax. Before any effective law can be passed with regard to labour the Reserves must be considerably reduced, enabling Commissioners and Police to trace each native if in the Reserve and to immediately arrest him if out of the Reserve without proper authority.”

The mental attitude of this gentleman is to say the least curious. It is apparently a personal “ grievance ” to this immigrant white settler that the indigenous owner of the land is allowed more than in this gentleman’s opinion is good for him. Apparently, also, it is a personal “ grievance ” that natives from this reserve are allowed to travel outside it without being arrested for the criminal act of walking about the country God has given them !

But this attitude is unfortunately very widespread throughout British East Africa ; the whole evidence tendered to the Commission covers

proposals of every sort and kind for "forcing" the natives to work for the white plantation owners. One suggests making the native wear European clothes, in order to buy which he will be compelled to seek work from the whites. Several witnesses urged upon the Commission the plan of making the native inhabitants labour for nothing upon works of public utility, apparently oblivious of the fact that the native had already discharged his administrative obligations by paying taxation. But the proposal most favoured was that of cutting down the native occupancy of land. Mr. Fletcher, of Kyambu, said :

" If the Reserves were cut down sufficiently, it would undoubtedly have the effect of turning off a large number of natives, who would be made to work for their living."

It has been the pride and glory of the best British statecraft that it has sought to uplift the people and to educate them to a higher standard of industrial life. During the sittings of the East African Commission, one witness, Mr. Howitt, of Kyambu, actually advanced the proposition that the native should be left uneducated in agriculture solely in order that the white settler might profit by his ignorance ! Here is the precious passage :

" He did not favour the idea of natives being taught better methods of agriculture in the Reserves, on the grounds that, if they were taught to work in the Reserves, the tendency

would be for them not to come out at all. In the event of the size of the Reserves being reduced, then the effect might be different. He did not think it would tend to increase their requirements."

But this deplorable attitude of many settlers in British East Africa found expression in a quarter where one would hardly expect it. Lord Delamere said :

"He considered the soundest policy would be to curtail the Reserves, and, though it might take a few years before the effect on the labour supply was apparent, the results would be permanent."

And again :

"If the policy was to be continued that every native was to be a land holder of a sufficient area on which to establish himself, then the question of obtaining a satisfactory labour supply would never be settled."

To the student of British colonial policy, it is almost inconceivable that propositions such as the foregoing should be advanced by Englishmen in the twentieth century. The crude and vicious assumption of property rights in our fellow men, and after all that is at the root of the assumption, died, we had hoped, with the rise of Abraham Lincoln, John Brown, Fowell Buxton and Wilberforce. This spirit must be opposed and denounced in season, and, if need be, out of season, until

equal rights are secured for every subject of the British Crown. Happily there are men in the Protectorate fully alive to the danger of such vicious principles, and most men will, upon reflection, agree with Mr. John Ainsworth, the Provincial Commissioner of the Nyanza province, who, in reply to the question as to whether cutting down the Reserves would bring about a larger labour supply, indignantly brushed aside the question and then went straight to the heart of the matter by bluntly remarking that "He considered such a proposition a highly immoral one."

It is quite clear that future years will witness a long and bitter struggle for the just rights of the natives of British East Africa ; influences are at work with the object of taking from the native the land he occupies to-day in order that labour may be provided. The struggle on behalf of the natives may be short, but more probably it will be long, costly and almost certainly bitter. During that struggle earnest men in the British Isles, co-operating with good men from the Protectorate, will need, and should have, the help of every Christian man to whom the words righteousness and justice mean anything at all.

In Uganda the land settlement by Sir Harry Johnston represented a remarkable advance upon that of any other territory in South or East Africa. In 1899 it became evident that the peaceful settlement of the Protectorate could only be assured upon a satisfactory solution of the land problem. The Baganda had been

showing great uneasiness because the impression had gained currency that the British Government intended taking the ownership of the land. Major Woodward in his report to the War Office said :

“ The idea that they would lose their lands and become the tenants of European landlords caused the natives (of Uganda) to look forward with dread to the advent of European control. This feeling has, however, been to a great extent dispelled owing to the general arrangement regarding the land settlement effected during 1900-1.”

The 1900-1 land settlement was the work of the Commission presided over by Sir Harry Johnston. The first principle of the agreement is that the ownership of all lands beneficially occupied is vested in the native. The term “ beneficially occupied ” includes not merely native towns, villages, and gardens, but hunting grounds and areas within the perimeter of which rotation of crops, hunting and tribal movements have been practised. There was thus secured to the native inhabitants security of adequate tenure for every conceivable native requirement.

The second main principle was that all genuinely waste and unoccupied land became the property of the local administration. Thus land still remained the possession of the people of Uganda while the control of these waste lands passed to the administration for lease and disposal either to indigenous people or immigrant colonists.

It is important to bear in mind that the administrative authority assumed control of the waste lands in its capacity of Trustee for the Protectorate.

But even this limited surrender of control over waste land was not made without compensation, for the following terms were arranged :

“ In return for the cession to Her Majesty’s Government of the right of control over 10,550 square miles of waste, cultivated, uncultivated or forest lands there shall be paid by Her Majesty’s Government in trust for the Kabaka (upon his attaining his majority) a sum of £500 and to the other Regents collectively £600, namely to the Katikiro £300 and the other two Regents £150 each.”

Also a pension to Mbogo, a Mohammedan chief, of £250 per annum. This is of course in addition to the guaranteed allowance of £1,500 per annum to the Kabaka as Paramount.

The reason the Baganda accepted this agreement so promptly was due primarily to the fact that it recognized native tribal ownership over land in beneficial occupation, and secondly, state ownership only over all “ waste ” lands. It will be observed that all the Imperial Government asked and all the Baganda surrendered was the “ right of control ” (not the ownership) over about 10,000 square miles. A further clause in the agreement stipulated that all revenues derived from the waste lands either by lease or sale would be devoted to administrative purposes.

Great Britain prides herself most upon the land system of Northern Nigeria. In this huge territory Britain's colonial authorities believe they have evolved a system which, as a piece of constructive work, sets an inspiring example to every other administrator in the African continent, if not to every government in the tropical and semi-tropical regions of the world. As against this theory there are many native criticisms, but whether or not these are well-founded depends almost entirely upon the good faith of the British Government in its promise to educate the native inhabitants in the art of modern self-government.

The foundation principle upon which the system is erected is thus set forth :

“The whole of the lands of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, whether occupied or unoccupied on the date of the commencement of this Proclamation, are hereby declared to be native lands.”*

The foregoing principle only consecrates what is after all the basis of native land tenure throughout negro Africa, the communal conception that land is the property of the entire human race, and that none can hold a monopoly, not even the Paramount Chief. African history teems with stories of autocratic and barbarous rulers with herds of cattle and slaves by the hundred, and the fairest of women either as wives or concubines, but where in these histories are the Chieftains

* *Laws of Northern Nigeria*, Vol. lxv, 1910.

powerful enough to earmark for private revenue the land of the people ? I venture to assert such cannot be named.

The second main principle sets forth the doctrine of Trusteeship :

“ All native lands, and all rights over the same, are hereby declared to be under the control and subject to the disposition of the Governor, and shall be held and administered for the use and common benefit of the natives of Northern Nigeria ; and no title to the occupation and use of any such lands shall be valid without the consent of the Governor.”*

This section consecrates one of the most prevalent and most rigorously restricted native customs, whereby the Paramount Chief, the Head of the State, controls the lands of the country, not as owner, but as trustee for the nation. “ For the use and common benefit of the natives ” seems at first sight to go somewhat further than native custom, but in practice this is not so, because any alien may, subject to tribal sanction, become an integral part of the tribe which carries with it the right to occupy land sufficient to provide sustenance.

The third principle is set forth in section 4 :

“ The Governor, in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by this Proclamation with respect to any land, shall have regard to the native laws and customs existing in the district in which such land is situated.”†

* *Laws of Northern Nigeria*, Vol. lxv, 1910.

† *Ibid.*

This principle, like the two preceding ones, involves a minimum of disturbance and recognizes native law and custom as the governing factor.

These three cardinal principles safeguarding native rights have been laid down by the British Government in spite of the fact that large areas of Northern Nigeria had been conquered by the British Imperial forces.

The first principle consecrates native national ownership, the second that the Governor is in this matter the native national Trustee for national lands, and the third that in any lease or disposal of lands the Governor as Paramount Chief and National Trustee is restricted in his action by native law and custom. Thus the Nigerian system precludes the European conception of both commercial ownership and individual ownership tenure.

It is futile, however, to close our eyes to the fact that many natives have adopted a hostile attitude towards this system, a few because the Northern Nigerian principles prevent the alienation of freehold title by natives to those Europeans who, regardless of native welfare, are ever on the look-out for "concessions" of land which too often lead to native unrest whenever the concessionnaire attempts to assert his rights.

The principal objection is on more solid ground, namely, that it places the control of all land operations in the hands of the Governor. There is undoubtedly good cause for this criticism, but the answer is a strong one, namely, that this

“control” is only vested in the Governor as Paramount until a local government has been evolved capable of administering the several departments of State.

This answer, strong though it is, is only a temporary one, and implies the obligation that no time should be lost in setting up a land department controlled in part at least by native chiefs ; once this standard has been reached native apprehensions would be allayed and the criticisms of to-day would lose much of their force.

But more important than all these is the historic Rhodesian Land Case, the legal consideration of which by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council occupied over four years, 1914-1918, and the ramifications of the decision of this, the highest tribunal in the British Empire, have not yet reached their final limits.

The case was of special importance to natives, because, for the first time in British history, they appeared before the Judicial Committee in the person of Mr. Leslie Scott. The case arose from a most extraordinary claim of the British South Africa Company.

The Chartered Company, to give it the name by which it is popularly known, claimed the entire lands of Southern Rhodesia as its commercial property ; the land already alienated to white men by the Company was excluded. The area claimed as the private property of the shareholders included, besides all waste lands, every square foot of land occupied by the natives ; thus, if the Company had won its case, the entire native

inhabitants would have been rendered landless in their own country.

In Sir Godfrey Lagden's report of 1905 the evidence is produced of Mr. John Kerr, who said of Rhodesia and the attitude of the Chartered Company :

“ I think that Natives are bound, in a country like this, to be provided with land. I think that is only fair and just to the Natives, seeing that the Chartered Company have really practically confiscated the whole of the lands, and that they are only living on sufferance, and therefore I say it is the bounden duty of the Chartered Company to see that if the Native does not like to go out to the mines, he has somewhere he may call his home.”

How completely the Company had confiscated native indigenous title is shown by a passage in the Rhodesian Report on Native Affairs issued in 1911. The Committee, referring to the so-called “unalienated land” occupied by the natives, said :

“ We see no objection to the present system of allowing natives to occupy the unalienated land of the Company and pay rent. The occupation is merely a passing phase ; the land is being rapidly acquired by settlers with whom the natives must enter into fresh agreements or leave.”

These lands called “unalienated” claimed as the commercial property of the Company were in

fact occupied, and had been occupied from time immemorial by the native inhabitants, and yet a Commission of Company's officials actually expresses the opinion that there is no objection to a system which subjects these native inhabitants either to eviction, or tribute to alien white men !

The claim of the Chartered Company, which covered 73,000,000 acres of land and included the entire native reserves, reposed upon the three-fold title of (*a*) Concession, (*b*) Forceable Occupation—Conquest, (*c*) Possession and Development.

The British Crown, the white settlers of Rhodesia and the natives opposed the claim, and the cases of the respective parties were at different periods in the hands of the following Counsel who, with their Juniors, were responsible for the legal documents and speeches in this four years' case : Lords Buckmaster, Birkenhead, Findlay, Robert Cecil, Sir John Simon, Sir Erle Richards, Sir Hamar Greenwood, Sir George Cave, The Lord Advocate, Sir Gordon Hewart and Mr. Leslie Scott. The brilliant array of legal opinion is in itself an indication of the supreme importance of this constitutional case.

The natives advanced as their main pleas the contention that :

- (*a*) Their lands had never been alienated by Lobengula nor by their Chiefs.
- (*b*) The British Crown, whose subjects they were not, but to whom they were bound by a treaty of Amity, had never dispossessed them of their lands.

(c) The Company's Administration had never by any formal or legal instrument alienated their lands from them.

The Judgment in the case was issued by their Lordships of the Judicial Committee on July 29th, 1918. It is a document of 15,000 words and by its general terms the claim of the Company to the lands was set aside.

Upon the key question of Concession, the Judgment of the Committee was clear. This capital feature of the case circled round the concession granted by King Lobengula to a German financier named Amandus Lippert, and of this document their Lordships said:

“As a title deed to the unalienated lands it is valueless.”

The Judgment holds up to healthy scorn and ridicule the arguments which, following African precedents, the Chartered Company has reposed upon this famous Lippert concession :

“The consequences of the construction which the Company puts on the document would indeed be extreme. It would follow that Herr Lippert was, or could become at pleasure, owner of the entire kingdom—for nothing is reserved in favour of the inhabitants—from the kraals of the King's wives to his father's grave or the scene of assembly of his indunas and his pitso. Thenceforward the entire tribe were sojourners on sufferance where they had ranged in arms, dependent

on the good nature of this stranger from Johannesburg even for gardens in which to grow their mealies, and pastures on which to graze their cattle. The Lippert concession may have some value as helping to explain how and why the Crown came to confer the administration of Southern Rhodesia upon the Company, but as a title deed to the unalienated lands it is valueless."

The attempt by the Company to establish title by any argument of forcible possession or conquest met with an equally ignominious fate. During the whole eleven days' hearing of the case, probably the most fascinating morning was the one during which the Lord Advocate endeavoured to establish contributory title on the ground of "Conquest." He knew perfectly well the extreme danger of advancing this argument, but with extraordinary skill he threw out the atmosphere and the glamour of "conquest" without even once using the actual word. Again and again, first one and then another of their Lordships attempted to draw out that fatal word, but with really superb ability Mr. Clyde avoided the pitfall. The Judgment, however, once more reaffirmed that bulwark of the British Constitution :

"If there was a conquest by the Company's arms, then by well settled constitutional practice, that conquest was on behalf of the Crown. It rested with Her Majesty's advisers to say what should be done with it, . . ."

Thus ended the long struggle against the preposterous claim of the Chartered Company, namely, that every foot of land in Southern Rhodesia not in the possession of white men belonged not to the Crown, nor to the inhabitants, but to the shareholders of the Chartered Company.

Of the three opponents of the Company, the Crown won most, in that legal title became vested in the British Crown as Trustee for the inhabitants. The real position is best summed up in the following passages :

“ Their Lordships think it sufficient to say that, except in so far, if at all, as the rights of the Crown are subject to those of the Natives and the Company, nothing has been shown to have happened or to have been done that would prevent the Crown, if and when the Company’s tenure of the administration of Southern Rhodesia determines, from disposing of the lands then remaining unalienated by any lawful means and in favour of any persons or purposes, as it may duly be advised. . . .”

The natives came an easy second to the Crown in what they secured. The white settlers received but scant attention in the Judgment. In the first place the natives gained the enormous advantage of finding the lands they occupy no longer under the control of the Chartered Company’s shareholders, but under the direct control of the Crown, and, as will be observed from the above passage, Crown rights are to some extent at least subject to indigenous rights.

Next to this the natives, it is hoped, have removed from them the menace of a perpetual temptation to cut down their reserves. Prior to the Judgment, the Company's claim to the commercial ownership of the reserves meant that it was always in the interest of the Company to make out a case for cutting off the best portions of the reserves, and the natives were thus constantly exposed to the threat of eviction; indeed whilst the case was proceeding it had been decided to evict the natives from 6,000,000 acres of reserves and place them elsewhere on 5,000,000 acres.

But the position to-day is that none of the lands have been returned to the natives of which they had been dispossessed upon the untenable assumption that good title was inherent in both Concession and Conquest—both titles are now declared invalid. Furthermore the natives possess no secure title to the reserves. Coincident with the preparation of the native case a Reserves Commission was appointed of which the following facts are of capital importance :

1. The Commission was composed principally of Chartered Company's officials or ex-officials, and under its then claim the Company stood to gain financially by any cutting down of the Reserves.
2. Not only was there no missionary upon the Commission, but not even a Native Commissioner, although the subject dealt primarily with Native affairs.

Lord Harcourt suggested that a representative of the Native Affairs Department be nominated, but the Company ignored this, and a situation was actually created whereby the Company's Surveyor-General, who for years had advocated the cutting down of the Reserves, was appointed.

The Rev. A. Shearley Cripps, the courageous missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, comments as follows upon the results of this Commission :

“ Its (the Commission’s) findings assuredly achieve a not very masterly handling of apparently conflicting interests as between black and white fellow-subjects in one province of our Empire. If we believe in the cry that is being raised at this very time on behalf of subject races and weaker nations, that they should be allowed to develop on their own lines, why not be consistent and try to practice in Africa, what we English preach in Europe ? ”

Bare justice demands that the following reasonable land conditions should be secured for the Mashona and Matabele tribes of Southern Rhodesia :

1. Secure title to their reserves.
2. The cessation of evictions from reserve areas.

3. Permission accorded to all tribes to continue to live upon their ancestral lands without the obligation to pay other than administrative taxation.

Until these modest reforms have been secured, the Matabele and Mashona people have a well-founded grievance against the British administration of Southern Rhodesia.

The land problem of Africa is fundamental, because upon land tenure rests the superstructure of the whole social life of the people. It divides itself broadly into the two categories—land where white colonization is possible, and tropical lands where the white man can never be other than a temporary resident. In the South of the continent, the Zambesi is the dividing line, and in the Northern part of the continent the Sahara and the Sudan.

In tropical areas the ownership of all lands should be vested in the local States, with a system of leaseholds for white merchants and white industry. To the native inhabitants must be left intact all rights of native lands and all virgin produce.

In both tropical and colonizable regions the State should retain ownership, and in territories where white colonization is possible, native tribes should be given secure title to all lands beneficially occupied by them. The system of Reserves wherever adopted should provide both security, adequacy and fertility, and reserve areas only alienable for indispensable public works, and only

then upon the same conditions as those attaching to white men when they are called upon to surrender land for public purposes. The difficulties which attach to the ownership of minerals are easily overcome by the simple expedient of declaring all minerals the property of the State. This programme would give to the native contentment, to the white man prosperity, and to the Government peace, progress and the loyalty of its subjects.

PART IV

- I. RACIAL CONTACT—THE SALE OF ALCOHOL
- II. SOCIAL CONTACT—POLYGAMY AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SEXES



CHAPTER I

RACIAL CONTACT—THE SALE OF ALCOHOL

IN the social world racial contact between the white and coloured races of Africa involves a whole series of intricate and most difficult problems. The forces of Christianity find themselves confronted by such thorny indigenous problems as polygamy, irregular sexual relationships amongst the natives, and on the other hand the menace of white conduct as expressed in the unrestricted sale and consumption of alcohol, widespread sexual abuses and consequent disease. All these are to a very considerable extent dovetailed one within the other and together constitute the most formidable obstacle to the progress of the Christian faith.

It is impossible for anyone to defend the unrestricted sale of alcohol to the natives of Africa, at the same time so much heat is often engendered in any discussion of this subject that the essential factors are too often submerged beneath floods of almost passionate declamation. The chief difficulty is the tendency which exists to measure African conditions from the insular standpoint of the British islands.

The outstanding fact in the opposition to the sale of ardent spirits is that the forces of Christ-

ianity have always led the way. It can never be their duty, as some seem to think, to point out the difficulties of Governments in this matter. One thing they know, and one thing only, alcohol is a danger to the natives of Africa and of tropical regions in particular, and must be resolutely opposed. The leaders of the Christian Church have been charged with exaggerating the evil and their motives have been impugned, but happily these charges have come into their right perspective and everyone agrees now that the sale of alcohol introduced into these countries by European and American civilization is an unmitigated evil.

In British West Africa, more particularly in the Gold Coast, the evil is very marked. Sir Hugh Clifford states that during the last 25 years there has been an apparent increase of 35 per cent. importation, although in view of the increasing rate of population this may not necessarily mean increased consumption by the natives. In French West Africa the sale of alcohol was, up to 1912, quite the most pernicious evil in the equatorial regions. In South Africa, where the sale is everywhere illegal, there are always white men prepared to run almost any risk in order to smuggle alcohol into the compounds. Mr. Schumacher, the well-known mine owner of the Randt, recently stated: "The illicit liquor traffic should be impossible on the Witwatersrand, but during last year (1915) or so it had greatly increased and was now assuming terrifying proportions."

The three main lines of attack upon the traffic to-day are (1) heavy duties, (2) the supply of alternative drink and (3) prohibition.

In British East and South Africa there are large prohibited areas, and sale is illegal to natives throughout the Union territories and contiguous Protectorates. Prohibition also obtains throughout the Belgian Congo. In certain West African regions the duties imposed by the British Government are the highest in the whole continent, reaching in some cases 6s. 3d. a gallon. One of the strongest arguments against restricting consumption by heavy duties is that it has become the most fruitful and reliable source of revenue. This is a two-edged weapon, for it exposes the local administration to the charge that "the Government lives on the drink traffic." The abolition of the duty would in the first place lead to the imposition of direct taxation upon the natives, involving without question a good deal of political disturbance. The abolition of the duty and the prohibition of the sale in British territories would moreover give an enormous impetus to smuggling from over the boundaries of neighbouring states where the import and sale might be less rigidly safeguarded. These are the two paramount administrative difficulties from the Government standpoint.

But even in the consumption of drink the native assuredly has rights. Africa is a dry and thirsty land where little good water is supplied and where a man may often drink only at his peril. Is it not therefore the bounden duty of civilization,

whilst restricting the sale of ardent spirits, to encourage the native to manufacture suitable and relatively harmless native drinks? There is no comparison between European distilled spirits and the native drinks of Africa. Irish and Scotch whiskies and gin contain from 45 to 60 per cent. of alcohol; put a match to them and they burn with scorching flame! The foaming wines of the Raphia, Borassus and Oil palms possess, according to Sir Harry Johnston, only 2 to 3 per cent. of alcohol, whilst millet and maize beers seldom exceed 2 per cent. As Sir Harry Johnston so characteristically remarks: "The native fermented drinks might make people quarrelsome, but they do not make them mad." If the African has the right to drink something, and it is wrong for him to drink European alcohol, then in the name of common sense and justice he has a right to drink his relatively harmless native liquors. If he is denied this right, it is the bounden duty of those who deny the right to provide some substitute other than disease infected water. It was the irresistible logic of this position which some years ago impelled certain men interested in native affairs in South Africa to start a brewery for the manufacture of native drink.

But crude prohibition of the sale of alcohol raises one pertinent question which diplomacy requires should never be mentioned—Is it right, is it politically sound to deny alcohol to the native of Africa and permit consumption to the white and coloured immigrant into Africa? This is

a feature which most men discreetly forget or conveniently ignore. The Christian Church can never tolerate a colour-bar for the consumption of alcohol. It is absurd to argue that if the African drinks European alcohol he goes to perdition, and if the white man drinks the same stuff he goes to Heaven ! This argument might have been imposed upon the African a century ago, but it won't do to-day, for if there is to be no colour-line in the practice of evil or in the pursuit of good—it follows that what is wrong for the African must be declared wrong for the white man.

The monstrous absurdity of this situation not infrequently produces ludicrous and embarrassing illustrations. In one territory the natives had heard *ad nauseam* of the evils attendant upon drinking European alcohol, when, lo ! one fine Sunday morning, as the natives gathered together for Divine worship, the local Administrator raided the congregation for carriers, and made the coloured preacher carry his case of " whiskies and sodas." That an apology was afterwards tendered to the local bishop mitigated somewhat the offence, but it did not alter the fact of the occurrence, still less could it obliterate the incident from a retentive native memory. Again, the congregation of a church listening to the earnest sermon of another preacher was disturbed, and the service temporarily suspended, through a white man rolling into the church in such an inebriate condition that four native church-officers had to carry him out and home. Again, the absur-

dity is obvious in official visits to native chiefs. The practice at these receptions is for the Chief or Ruler to provide European spirits for the white officials, and yet the evils of purchasing and drinking the spirit are ceaselessly dinned into the ears of both Chiefs and people !

The vital question for the Christian Church is whether it is going to allow, or even acquiesce in, a colour line in wrong doing. There can be no question that the consumption of European alcohol in the tropics has a demoralizing effect upon the natives—upon that everyone is agreed. There is equally, amongst impartial observers, general agreement that the consumption of alcohol by whites is largely responsible for their physical and mental deterioration. Sir Harry Johnston says :

“ I can only say that in my own personal experience any form of distilled alcohol is a poison, especially to a system enfeebled by much malarial fever. I know that, physically, most other Europeans in Africa are, as I am, unable to drink distilled spirits, even diluted with water, without suffering more or less directly. I am also aware that the consumption of brandy, rum, gin, etc., has been disastrous to European enterprises in Tropical and in South Africa. It has lost us battles, it has provoked many needless quarrels with native races, it has led naturally honest men into dishonest courses, and has blighted and ruined many a promising career. I formed these opinions after my first

visit to Tropical Africa between 1882 and 1883, and from that visit came back a convinced abolitionist and teetotaller, so far as ardent spirits were concerned."

There is but one clear and logical attitude for the Christian man, either to leave the subject severely alone or advocate total prohibition regardless of a colour line in tropical and semi-tropical regions. In self-governing territories the people can decide this matter for themselves, but in the dependencies the "civilized" nations of Europe and America have no right to prejudice future administrative development by establishing a traffic which can only lead to ultimate disaster. This does not mean that under no circumstances could a man obtain limited supplies of whisky, gin or brandy, but such consumption should be under medical control, and at the same time the privilege granted by that medical certificate must, if extended at all, be extended regardless of the colour degree of the patient.

But what should be the attitude of the Church in the self-governing territories of Africa? The only self-governing areas affected at present are the four Provinces of the Union of South Africa—Cape Colony, the Transvaal, Natal, and the Orange River Colony. The only sound basic principle is equality either of rights or restriction. To-day there is a colour line in the sale of alcohol. The white man may, and in fact does in all too many cases, stagger helplessly down the streets of

Johannesburg and Kimberley, a pitiable spectacle for the natives. The Chinaman, and the British Indian, if so minded, may follow his example, but the African native is forbidden to touch the unclean thing. It is no use arguing to-day that because the white man is more capable of self-control than the native he should be allowed to purchase alcohol, for however much this argument may appeal to the politician, the Christian Church can have no part or lot in it. In the first place it exposes the Christian Church to an initial danger of serious magnitude—if self-control is the qualifying passport to consumption of alcohol, and self-control is, as we know it to be, one of the virtues of the Christian, then the man, no matter what colour his skin, who becomes a Christian obtains upon conversion the certificate to drink!

There is a further danger—is the premise sound that the white man is capable of the necessary self-control? Of course it is not, the argument is both absurd and dishonest. Stripped of cant and humbug is not this the position? The white man knows quite well that the consumption of ardent spirits is bad for the human organism, that its continuous consumption progressively destroys the self-control of every human species and that the white man to-day in Africa is either disinclined or too much of a moral jelly-fish to give it up himself, but even knowing it to be so bad, he is prepared to deny it to any other section of the human race but himself!

Another danger is that the African knows all this perfectly well; he knows that this plea of

racial self-control is at best but a matter of degree ; he has moreover daily and nightly ocular evidence that alcohol makes the "white boss" as silly and sometimes as mad as it does the black man, and that in short this racial blather is just so much hypocrisy. The Christian Church can only take up one attitude towards the consumption of spirits, namely that it is bad and therefore should, like other potent drugs, be kept under the lock and key of the physician who alone knows its real potency.

If the Christian Church admits the value and desirability of the consumption of spirits for the white man, it must logically admit consumption to the African—any other position is untenable.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL CONTACT—POLYGAMY AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SEXES

CIVILIZED governments and the Christian Church find themselves confronted throughout the African continent with polygamy. The custom of polygamy is not merely a continuous menace to Church organization, but the factor which ever and anon threatens first in one area then in another the stability of the Christian Church.

The forces of Christianity are unhappily gravely to blame in this matter, and some way out of the present impasse, some means of removing the confusion created, some way of redress must be found for the wrongs unthinking missionaries have committed, if the Christian Church is to establish herself permanently as the consistent guide in the evolution of a higher African civilization.

The initial difficulty arises from the fact that upon the question of polygamy Christian missionaries are not merely divided, but sub-divided into several camps confounding themselves and confusing the native by varying interpretations. There is in fact hardly a feature of polygamy upon which there is general agreement.

The first dividing line is the scriptural warrant

for monogamy. The natives themselves are quick to give Biblical authority for polygamy; they remind missionaries of the cardinal fact that the Old Testament saints were polygamists, and that although David had many wives, yet the testimony of the Lord was: "David who kept my commandments, and who followed me with all his heart to do that only which was right in mine eyes."* To this is added the difficulty that there is no New Testament authority for insisting upon monogamy as a condition of Church membership; indeed, the passage in St. Paul's letter that "A bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife," clearly implies that monogamy was not a condition of general membership in the early Church. The nineteenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel appears to give much more solid ground for a New Testament warrant for monogamy, but it does not appear to exclude from spiritual membership the man with more than one wife.

This fundamental uncertainty finds echo in the ranks of Christian missionaries themselves, but far more so amongst native Christians, particularly in West Africa and in certain parts of Natal. One body will admit polygamists to membership, but not to the Ordinances, another will deny membership altogether, yet another insists upon the total abandonment of all wives but one, regardless of consequences to the wives. Within the compass of this confusion there are cross-currents upon subsidiary points which leave

* 1 Kings, xiv, 8.

the native perplexed in mind and doubtful in faith.

This confusion gives to critics, friendly and unfriendly, abundant opportunity to "score" against missionary work. Three quite typical critics of missionary work are Mary Kingsley, Mr. Morel, and Dr. Blyden, each of whom looked at the question from quite different angles and consequently adopt quite distinct attitudes. To all three the progress of Christianity in Africa is primarily a mere "problem" and in no sense a sacred obligation imposed by Divine command, and a vital element in the evolution of Africa, and thus they appear to devote more energy to criticism.

Mary Kingsley, though a warm admirer of the devotion of the Christian missionary and the most tender of critics, tells a good story in her own inimitable way of the embarrassment of a Chief torn between a desire to live up to the prevailing standard of Christian demands and that of abandoning his superfluous wives :

"An old chief, who had three wives, profoundly and vividly believed that exclusion from the Holy Communion meant an eternal damnation. The missionary had instructed him in the details of this damnation thoroughly, and the chief did not like the prospect at all; but on the other hand he did not like to turn off the three wives he had lived with for years. He found the matter was not even to be compromised, by turning off two and going to

church to be married with accompanying hymns and orange-blossoms with number three, for the ladies held together ; not one of them would marry him and let the other two go, so the poor old chief worried himself to a shammock and anybody else he could get to listen to him. His white trader friends told him not to be such an infernal ass. Some of his black fellow chiefs said the missionary was quite right, and the best thing for him to do would be to hand over to them the three old wives, and go and marry a young girl from the mission school. Personally they were not yet afflicted with scruples on the subject of polygamy, and of course (being 'missionary man' now) he would not think of taking anything for his wives, so they would do their best, as friends, to help him out of the difficulty. Others of his black fellow chiefs, less advanced in culture, just said : 'What sort of fool palaver you make ;' and spat profusely. The poor old man smelt hell fire, and cried ' Yo, yo, yo,' and beat his hands upon the ground. It was a moral mess of the first water all round. Still do not imagine the mission-field is full of yo-yoing old chiefs ; for although the African is undecided, he is also very ingenious, particularly in dodging inconvenient moral principles."*

Mr. Morel is a more detached observer, less humorous, but an equally serious student of Africa, and in discussing the relative position

* *Travels in West Africa*, p. 212.

of Christianity and Islam, says with regard to polygamy :

“ Everything is against Christianity as presented to the Nigerian (I venture to emphasize this), and everything is in favour of Islam, although Christianity, in itself, contains more that should appeal to the Negro character than does Mohammedanism.”*

And again :

“ Family bonds are equally threatened by Christianity, as propounded to the Nigerian, for it trains the child, whether deliberately or otherwise, to look upon his parents as living a life of sin, thus introducing a subversive element into the household.”†

The problem of polygamy in Africa falls roughly into a threefold category—(a) what are the declared advantages ; (b) how far are these well-founded ; (c) what should be the attitude of the Christian Church.

Dr. Blyden and Mr. Morel place in the forefront the argument that polygamy leads to increased population over monogamous territories. Other writers assert that polygamy is productive of a healthier race owing to the fact that under polygamous conditions it is possible for the expectant mother to enjoy a “ perfect rest ” during the period of gestation. The third advantage is stated by Dr. Blyden to be that it prevents spinsterhood and prostitution.

* *Nigeria*, p. 214. † *Ibid.*, p. 215.

“Under the African marriage system,” he says, “there are no ‘women of the under world,’ no ‘slaves of the abyss.’ Every woman is above ground, protected and sheltered.

“Again: we are told by English periodicals that there are a little over five millions of unmarried women in Great Britain and the number is increasing. It is stated also that in the City of London alone there are 80,000 professional outcasts.

“We are quite sure that there are not so many unmarried women in the whole of Africa between the Atlantic and the Red Sea and from the Cape to the Mediterranean.

“Now, if polygamy has done nothing else it has saved and is saving Africa from all these evils. Is this nothing to be thankful for? We are not confronted by those frightful evils, which in Europe and America are the despair of the guardians of public order and the reformers of public morals.”*

And (Mr. Morel):

“Islam, on the other hand, despite its shortcomings, does not, from the Nigerian point of view, demand race suicide of the Nigerian as an accompaniment of conversion.”†

This latter quotation is of course very “strong meat.” It goes much further than probably any other writer has gone, whilst there will be complete unanimity amongst Christian men in

* *African Life and Customs.* C. M. Phillips.

† *Nigeria.* Smith Elder.

repelling the really serious accusation that the forces of Christianity are pursuing a policy which leads to race suicide. Whilst it is imperative that such opinions and criticisms should be carefully considered, it is probable that the exaggerated form in which they are expressed is their most effective contradiction.

The late Dr. Blyden was one of the most notable products of West Africa, a sincere Mohammedan and a close student of religion and sociology both of Africa and Europe. The contributions of Dr. Blyden were always characterized by deep earnestness, no trace of bitterness is to be found in them; his writings thus form a unique source of information upon African questions. Upon the relative question of European and African marriage laws Dr. Blyden says :

“Africa solved the marriage question for herself thousands of years ago. It has needed no revision and no amendment, because founded upon the law of Nature and not upon the *dictum* of any ecclesiastical hierarchy. Europe is still grappling with the problem, and finds that not only is her solution unsatisfactory, but out of it have grown other difficult questions. ‘There is not one social question,’ said Gambetta, ‘there are *social questions*.’

“This question is one which is so serious in its consequences in all tropical countries, that it cannot be too earnestly enquired into by those who have the welfare of the race at heart. The marriage laws of Europe have

proved disastrous in the equatorial regions of the globe ; and sooner or later the question must command much greater attention from the imperial races than it has hitherto received.”*

How far are these assumptions well founded ? There is at least a germ of truth in a few of them, whilst there is another side to all of them.

It is extremely doubtful whether polygamy does in fact anywhere lead to an increased birth-rate. So far as the negro and negroid African is concerned, the most populous areas are monogamistic. East and West Africa are far less densely populated than South Africa, whilst all statistics show a greater increase in South Africa and amongst the monogamistic negroes of the Southern States of America than is to be found in territories where polygamy is supposed to be more prevalent.

It is frequently argued that the South African races are polygamous. This is, of course, true, but is in fact only half true. In theory the whole of the tribes south of the Zambesi are polygamous, but it is in theory only. The simple fact is too readily overlooked that the rate of increase amongst any population is determined by the woman and not by the man. Dr. Theal, whose literature on South Africa is second to none, performed invaluable service by producing striking facts on this feature of the question. In the evidence gathered by Dr. Theal was a

* *African Life and Customs.* C. M. Phillips.

report from Mr. Donald Strachan, one of the oldest residents of Griqualand; Mr. Strachan made one return embracing 984 women, the wives both of monogamists and polygamists:

Out of 984 women, there were 591 the wives of polygamists with 3,298 children, or 5.58 children to each mother.

The remaining 393 women, the wives of monogamists, had together 2,223 children, or an average of 5.65 children to each mother, actually a higher birth-rate than the polygamists!

Mr. Maurice Evans tells us* that in Natal, as in other parts of South Africa, monogamy and not polygamy is the rule; for out of 5,981 marriages in Natal in 1909, 3,465 were monogamous, that in the 1,525 cases over 1,061 were marrying a second woman, whilst only 21 were being married to more than the sixth wife.

In 1902 the returns given of 607,762 married men showed that of these over 516,600 were monogamous; 69,846 men had two wives, less than 15,000 had three wives, whilst the highest number of wives possessed by any man was 46.

The question of polygamy in Africa is one of real urgency for the forces of Christianity. Agreement is probably impossible upon every detail, but there should be general support for main principles. Any violent breaking down of polygamy which involves injustice to and the degradation of certain wives cannot be tolerated. The denial of Church membership to the polygamist at the time of conversion cannot be defended upon

* *Black and White in South-East Africa.*

scriptural grounds, and should therefore be abandoned. Monogamy, being the ideal state for social and spiritual peace and enjoyment, should be the condition of holding office in any Christian Community. Given the acceptance of these three broad principles, much of the irritating detail of to-day would vanish from the troubled vision of the African.

In social contact there is one deplorable feature which cannot be overlooked, namely sexual relationships. The record of the white men and some white women of all nations in this respect has hardly a redeeming feature. The percentage of unmarried white men outside missionary circles who cohabit with African womanhood is deplorably high—probably more than 90 per cent. The races differ but little so far as the practice is concerned, but continental nationalities live this life openly with the one redeeming feature that, generally speaking, the coloured offspring is cared for and educated. The Britisher lives the life, brings forth, and then, wherever practicable, abandons the children, the only redeeming feature in his case being that the Britisher is, generally speaking, so thoroughly ashamed of himself that everything is done to cover up his shame.

It is useless to ignore the fact of the kindred but far graver question of the relationship of black men towards white women, allegations of which have led to the frightful lynchings in the Southern States of America whereby, within the last thirty years, nearly 3,000 negroes have been lynched under conditions which lacked nothing in horror.

The African has an extraordinarily logical mind, and is now questioning why his women folk should be debauched by white men whereas such grave penalties are attached to sexual relationship between the African and white women. The facilities for visiting Europe, where there are no such penalties, but where actual inducements exist, are becoming well known over large areas of the continent. No amount of argument, no passage of legal enactments will touch this serious situation, the menace of which is rapidly growing. One thing alone will save at once both the immigrant white and coloured—the acceptance and practice of the Christian faith.

But the forces of Christianity will only save the situation by facing the facts, unpleasant though they be. The policy of the ostrich always spells disaster. It is essential to understand first that there are as many grades in African social life as one finds in Europe or America ; there is the degraded servile class, there are intellectuals and the aristocrats, and between these three strata there are dozens of intermediate grades.

In the first place, as Dudley Kidd says :

“ The man who poses as an authority on the Kafirs, and repeats the statement that the Natives are moral and right enough if only missionaries would leave them alone, is either a knave or a fool.”*

The only authoritative report upon the “ assaults on women ” in Africa is that of the 1913

* *The Essential Kafir.*

Commission in South Africa. In this report the Commissioners point to the danger of employing low class natives as house-boys and say :

“ As regards sexual matters, however, the code of morality is low in the extreme, viewed from a European standpoint. It is stated by witnesses that the raw native is born and brought up in an atmosphere of immorality and lust, his thoughts and speech are lewd ; the topic of his ordinary conversation from an early age are sexual matters; even in the presence of the other sex his talk in this respect is unrestrained ; his jokes with his female friends and acquaintances have reference to these matters. Persons who do not understand the native language, it is said, can hardly realize how low, according to European standards, the state of morality is amongst them.”

At the same time the Chiefs and Elders of the tribes, until the advent of the white men, imposed strong if barbarous restraint on both language and conduct. The Commissioners above quoted also say :

“ Yet in their barbarism they have always had a social system and institutions which, with all their defects, have also a side which exercises a considerable influence for good. Loyalty to the Chief and to the Tribe has always been the mainspring of native morality. The responsibility of the tribe and the family for the offences of its members was a recognized factor, which imposed upon every member of it a personal

obligation in the prevention of crime, and caused him to be directly interested in the observance of the law."

It is not difficult to picture that indignant Chief before the Natal Commissioner, who, in vehement and passionate language, suiting gesture to words with dramatic effect, asked

"What are these white things, which their girls were bringing home on their backs in such numbers ? What did the Government mean by allowing their girls to bear so many white children ? Did they want to breed mule-drivers ? (in allusion to the fact that men of mixed race invariably drive Government conveyances.) "

What should be the attitude of the Christian Church towards this problem ; what action should it take towards helping forward a pure home life which is one of the foundations of a strong Christian Church ?

First in order must be, in season and out of season, a complete denunciation of both promiscuous and irregular relationships. Miscegenation between the races will find few advocates, but miscegenation under defined marriage laws is the only defensible alternative to irregular cohabitation.

The second main effort should be towards encouraging white family life wherever possible. Missionaries are rightly advised to secure and

take with them at the Mission expense suitable partners—the same policy must be urged upon the administrative and mercantile community.

The third and final main objective should be towards the training of African girl domestics, both as personal servants and with a view to becoming an elevating influence in the homes of the African race. The practice which is so widely prevalent of employing African boys in white households is conducive of much evil. It was this feature which the South African Commission found to be so fruitful of the alleged sexual abuses, and for these they laid the blame primarily and heavily upon the white mistresses.

The Commissioners say in one passage :

“ It has, for instance, according to evidence, been a common custom to allow the house-boy to bring early coffee into the bedroom of the mistress of the house, and that of her daughters, where he has opportunities of seeing them in a state of undress in which they would not dream of showing themselves to a white man. That this is not an imaginary danger may be shown by a case judicially recorded in which a house-boy, aged 22, was charged with a sexual offence on a young woman. The accused stated that he had seen her half naked when he took in her coffee ; so on a subsequent occasion he placed in the coffee some medicine which he had obtained from another native, and which he had been told would induce her to submit to his advances ; but when he entered the bed-

room at night, according to the other native's instructions, she had raised an alarm.”*

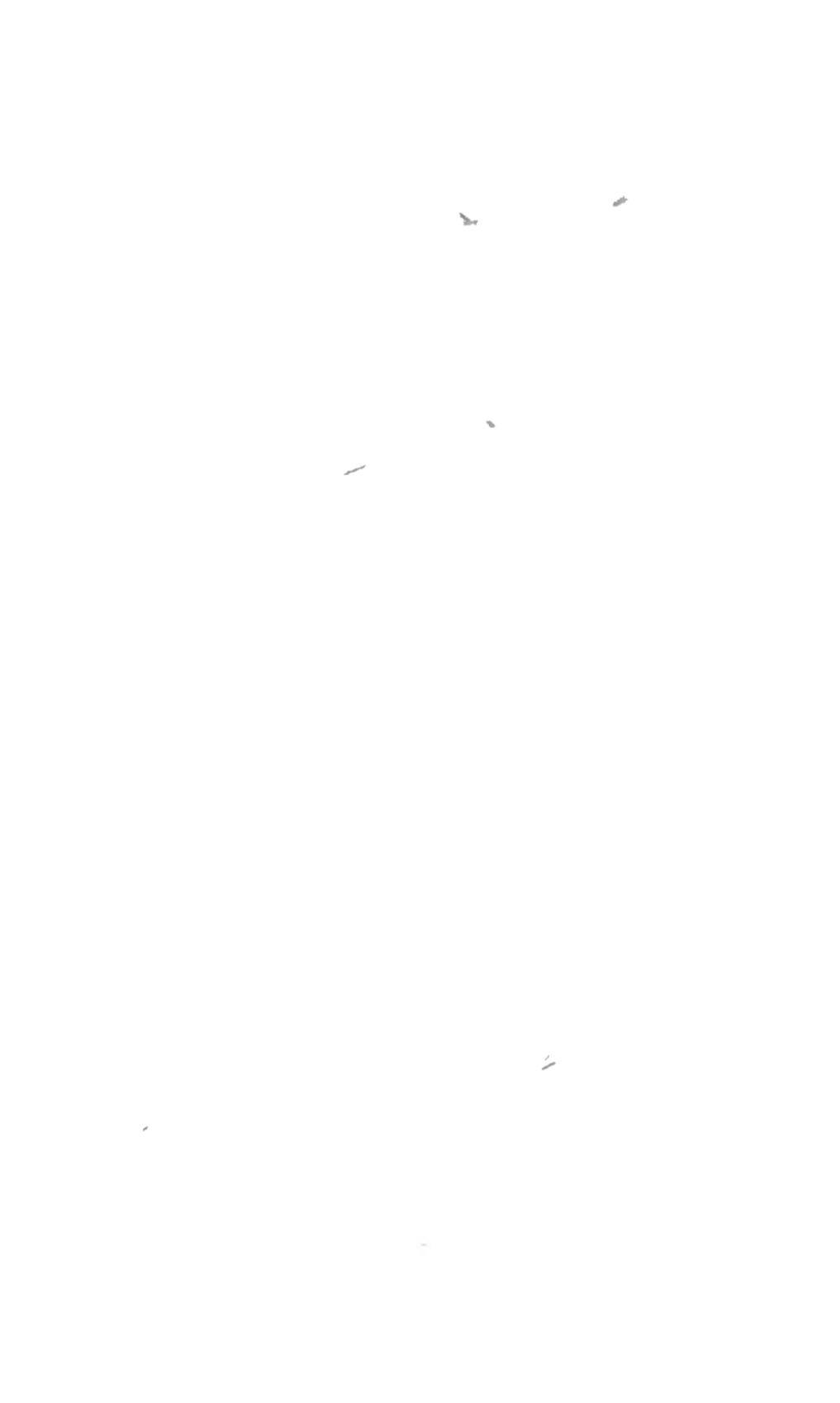
The Commissioners were pressed to advise making illegal the practice of employing “house-boys,” or at least to propose a substantial and presumably prohibitive tax, but unfortunately, for reasons which are by no means convincing, they only recommended the following :

“ To minimise the danger of employing the house-boy, two fundamental precautions are essential. In the first place, care should be taken in engaging him, that he is of good character, and security should be provided by some system by which the householder can satisfy himself on this point. In the second place, every endeavour should be made that no opportunities or temptations are offered to the house-boy to commit an offence of a sexual nature.”*

To the forces of Christianity belongs the obligation of going further than this Commission, by preparing the girls—the future women of Africa—to do women’s work and to take a woman’s stand, and thus help to prevent one of the greatest and most rapidly-growing evils of Africa.

PART V

- I. AFRICAN EDUCATION
- II. INDUSTRIAL MISSIONS
- III. RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA
- IV. CRITICS OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS



CHAPTER I

AFRICAN EDUCATION

IF the first interest of the African is land and its attendant advantages, education most certainly comes a close second amongst the younger men and women. It is no small consideration that the African individually and collectively will make greater efforts and personal sacrifices than the children of the white races in order to rise in the scale of education. The avidity of the African for education is the testimony of every African Commission of Inquiry, every missionary and every administrator. The Lagden Commission says :

“ It is evident that there is among the people themselves a growing desire for education, which cannot and need not be suppressed. Native witnessess have been strong on this point, and the Native Churches which have seceded from European control have established schools for which they have attempted, in most cases unsuccessfully, to secure Government recognition and financial aid.”

The Rhodesian Commission refers to the

“ keen desire of all sections of the more advanced natives for education.”

And

“there is evidence that their ambition is largely to be able to read and write, and thereby to carry on correspondence with their own people. Trivial and unimportant as this may seem to be, the Committee nevertheless recognize in it many influences for good. In its crudest form it provides a means of gaining or conveying news of home and work, which may well induce a longer and more contented period of employment. In a higher form it is a definite important stage on the road of civilization and progress.”

In both West and East Africa the same earnest spirit is everywhere in evidence. Archdeacon Walker says of Uganda that following upon the distribution of the Scriptures and the advancement of commerce there

“arose the need for being able to write and to keep accounts. Schools were started, at first only in the chief towns, but as time went on every chief demanded a school, and now in every village schools are found where reading, writing and simple arithmetic are taught.”*

It is well known that individual natives, parents and sons, often make extraordinary sacrifices for education. In the European and American educational centres are to be found to-day many lads whose parents have denied themselves for long years in order to save, to them, the stupendous

* *African Society's Journal*, July, 1917.

sums necessary for passage and outfit for the overseas journey, education fees, board and lodging expenses in Europe or America.

The percentage of expenditure per capita in South Africa illustrates in a striking manner the willingness of the natives to tax themselves for educational purposes. In Mr. Loram's book* the following figures are given :

	s.	d.	
Cape Colony	13	10	per capita.
Natal	15	10	" "
Transvaal	18	11	" "
Orange Free State	7	8	" "
Basutoland	19	8	" "

White
Government
imposes
taxation.

Native Governmt.
imposes taxation.

Thus Basutoland, where responsibility for expenditure rests largely with the natives themselves, a willingness is shown to pay 19s. 8d., the highest proportion in South Africa, as against 7s. 8d. in the neighbouring colony of the Orange Free State. Thus is shown, upon the unanimous testimony of white authorities, and to a complete demonstration by practical native tests, the earnest striving after knowledge by the natives themselves.

What is the attitude of the white races towards these legitimate native aspirations ? There is first the very large, but happily decreasing, minority who would deny to the native everything except the most elementary standards of education, and these in South Africa Mr. Loram calls "the Repressionists." He quotes with

* *Education of the South African Native.* Longmans.

much force the following passage from the Cape Education Commission :

“ We are of the opinion that State-aided education for natives should be of a purely elementary character. . . . ”

The same atmosphere is found in British East Africa. In the report of the 1912-13 Labour Commission the repressionist recommendation was that “ opportunities for literary education of a primary nature should be afforded.”

The fact that the Government of the Orange Free State is only able to provide an expenditure of 7s. 8d. per capita, as compared with 13s. 10d. in Cape Colony, is further eloquent testimony to the notoriously anti-native attitude so widely prevalent to-day in the territory of the Free State. This section of the Boer community is at heart against any measure of native education other than that which will be in the interest of the white employers, but the majority of white men, no matter to what section they belong—missionary, administrative or commercial—believe in native education for the sake of the native, they only differ upon the most suitable curriculum.

Most missionary bodies, for a variety of reasons, limit their efforts to a purely literary curriculum, which fits the natives for clerical, legal, educational or theological careers. This curriculum for the African is criticized more or less vigorously upon the ground that it gives the native “ a swollen headpiece.” Let it be quite frankly admitted that an educated native very often does

suffer from an inflated opinion of himself (although it must in fairness be recognized that in this the African is not alone), let it also be admitted that this attitude leads on to impertinence, disrespect for chiefs—both white and native—and to a whole train of greater or lesser evils, yet everything admitted points but to the importance of a readjustment and not to the abolition of the educational curriculum.

Mr. Loram sums up in six sentences the reasons why the African should receive “real education”:

1. We cannot help educating him, if not intentionally then unintentionally.
2. The dictates of humanity and Christianity demand that we educate him.
3. He means to be educated, and we have no right to refuse him this boon.
4. It is the educated native who will help most to solve the “Native Problem.”
5. It is to the moral, social, and economic interest of the Europeans to educate him, and we dare not face the consequences of failing to do so.
6. Wherever we have given him anything in the way of real education the results have been satisfactory.

The one question is what do we understand by the “real education” which will give such satisfactory results? It will be agreed generally that at present only the minority of natives—one here and one there—have successful careers which repose solely on a literary education. In Africa one can men-

tion men like Blyden, Johnson, Sarbah, Crowther, Carr, Williams, Obasa and Randle, but the fact that so few have risen to this scale is sadly eloquent of the limited services which the white man has rendered to the millions of Africa.

The education of the African must be the education of the whole man—mental, physical and spiritual ; its basis must be the whole body, soul and spirit of the man, and its goal freedom to develop talent to its utmost limit in State, Church or Industry. Primary education should lead on to industrial training under the kindly eye of the sympathetic tutor, ever watchful for that distinctive talent which would open out respectively to the farm, the botanical garden, the counting-house, the civil service or the pulpit ; square pegs in round holes are bad enough in Europe—they are fatal in Africa.

Africa has in most places quite enough African lawyers ; her great needs to-day are scientific agriculturists, doctors, sanitary officials and accountants. Africa needs the scientific agriculturists in thousands to teach the people to grow two cocoa pods where one grows to-day, to educate millions of people in the value of artificial manures and insecticides. Africa needs doctors and a sanitary service sufficiently adequate to wage a victorious war on the mosquito and tsetse fly, to break through—as only native doctors can—the dense fog of indigenous prejudice, so that Africa is no longer the breeding ground of disease and plague. Africa also needs thousands of trained accountants to teach the native the principles of

finance, and the individual African how to take care of his own money, and, what is of equal if not greater importance, that belonging to other people.

Missionary bodies and educational departments need not fear that by concentrating somewhat heavily upon the foregoing professions the Bar and the Pulpit will be starved. The oratorical powers of the African and his love of litigation are so natural and so strong that no matter what degree of education is available there will be always a proportionate number of aspirants for both professions, reinforced in many cases by a deeply religious concern for the spiritual welfare of the race.

What are the educational agencies in Africa to-day ? They fall into two main categories with a measure of combination and some inevitable overlapping : (a) Missionary, (b) Administrative.

Missionary education is carried on widely by the Protestant and Catholic sections of the Christian Church, and to a much smaller extent by Mohammedan teachers. In the education of the African race Mohammedanism has done infinitely less than the forces of the Christian faith, and this despite the fact that from every point of view Mohammedanism has held all the strategic advantages for over one thousand years. This is the more surprising because, as Lord Milner so truly says :

“ In the theory of Mohammedanism, piety and learning go hand in hand.”*

* *England in Egypt*, by Alfred Milner.

In Egypt and the Sudan one finds the fullest development of Mohammedan educational activity. Lord Milner points out, however, the lethargy which has overtaken the Mohammedan educational system :

“ The famous Mosque of El-Azhar at Cairo was a University and a centre of Eastern culture for some hundred years before the oldest European Universities were founded. And to the present day it still enjoys incomparably the greatest prestige of any seat of learning in the Moslem world. But so far as real knowledge and education goes, El-Azhar is, if not a dead, at least a dormant institution. The old Arab erudition, related alike in substance and in method to that of Europe during the Middle Ages, has met with the fate which would have befallen European culture, had it not been breathed upon and revived in the Renaissance by the spirit of Ancient Greece.”*

Throughout Africa, North, East, West and South, almost to the equatorial line, are to be found the Mohammedan Ulema, to whom education is little more than the necessity of teaching a little reading, less writing, but the supreme necessity of memorizing unintelligible and indigestible portions of the Koran. It is neither education nor a foundation upon which a system of education, rightly understood, may be erected.

To the eternal credit of Christianity its missionaries of all denominations zealously and at great

* *England in Egypt*, by Alfred Milner.

expense undertook the education of the African. It was perfectly legitimate to argue that education was purely an administrative charge and that in return for taxation the Government should give education to the African race, but the missionary forces took a different attitude. The missionaries saw a big regenerative work waiting to be done, and without hesitation they took it in hand and are doing to-day in a manner which, with all its faults, makes missionary education the first re-generative factor in the continent.

The educational work of the Christian Missions is divided about equally between the Protestant and Roman Catholic communities. In some territories, such as Belgian Congo, Portuguese and Spanish territories, Roman Catholic effort is greater than that of the Protestant societies, but in other territories the Protestants predominate. It is of course unfair to measure the extent of the work done by the *number* of the *personnel*, but figures are after all a rough guide. In the South African Union and the Enclave Protectorates, Protestant personnel is 1,990 and Roman Catholic 2,460. In Nigeria, as a typical West African Colony, Roman Catholics are represented by 36 and Protestants 50 white men. How inadequate an index as a basis of effort is the white man is shown by the fact that with a Protestant representation of 1,990, there are enrolled in the South African schools 168,000, whereas the Roman Catholics with 2,460 white men have apparently an enrolment of less than 18,000 !

It is extremely difficult, however, to make any

reliable comparison between the results of the two great Christian forces at work in the African continent, owing to the unnecessarily secretive attitude of the Roman Catholic organization. Reviewing the work of the Roman Catholic Church in Africa since its commencement in 1234 at Tunis, Bishop Hartzell concludes :

“ In 1915, there were two archbishops, one at Tunis and one at Algiers ; a foreign staff of 6,262 priests, lay brothers and sisters, the last two about equally divided in numbers. There was a native staff of 7,674, of whom 6,767 were not ordained. This means that the Catholic foreign and native workers in mission work in Africa numbered nearly 14,000. It is notable that the number of ordained foreign missionaries was only about 1,000. There were 3,380 churches, with 1,053,467 communicants and baptized non-communicants including children. In schools of all grades there were 218,256. In medical and philanthropic work there were 395 dispensaries and 193 hospitals. The children in orphanages numbered 11,905. No report is given of the amount contributed for the support of the Church. The white membership on the continent is less than 100,000.”*

The total Protestant force of the various denominations throughout the continent is nearly 5,500, with an enrolled attendance in all schools of nearly 730,000 scholars.

* *The Christian Occupation of Africa.* Proceedings of the African Conference held in New York, November, 1917.

Administrative educational work in Africa is of recent growth, and although in several political areas the standard is quite good, only in a few places does it reach the level of missionary effort. It was not, for example, until the year 1900 that the Government of Nigeria began to provide its own schools, and not until 1903 that a Department of Education was created. Most governments in the continent, finding missionary education better suited to the people, cheaper from the administrative standpoint and possessing more virility, prefer making substantial grants in aid. Government grants are made either in lump sums or per capita for standard attained. The variation in these Government grants is considerable, but, generally speaking, they are, to use the words of Sir Hugh Clifford, "pitifully small."

The educational work done by the white races in Africa is best illustrated in the two differing political areas of the South African Union and of the Gold Coast. The former a colonizable territory possessing self-government, and the latter tropical and therefore uncolonizable and without self-government. The basis of educational work in the Union territory and in the Enclave Protectorate of Basutoland rests upon Christian missionary endeavour. The Government then came to the aid of the missionaries with financial grants, certificates for teachers, and of course Government inspection follows in the train of Government assistance. It is clear, however, that factors are increasing which tend to restrict more and more Government assistance and at

the same time to expand administrative liability for purely secular education.

Educational expenditure in the respective Provinces, according to population, is as follows :

	Native Population.	Expenditure on Native Schools.
Cape Colony ..	1,982,588	£83,320
Natal ..	953,389	14,170
Transvaal ..	1,219,845	13,961
Orange Free State ..	325,824	4,000
Basutoland ..	404,507	16,771*

These figures show the appalling lack of interest in the education of the natives in the Union of South Africa. Little Basutoland out of a revenue of £161,000 can spare nearly £17,000 for education as against the affluent "Free State" which only provided the paltry sum of £4,000 out of a total revenue of nearly £500,000. Compare this again with the American administration of the Philippines, where from a revenue of £5,000,000 the sum of over £365,000 is drawn for educational work. The three Provinces of the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal, out of a total revenue of over £2,200,000, spent less than the miserable sum of £33,000 on native education, a single fact eloquent of the attitude of the whites towards the native population.

The most urgent demand of to-day is the early establishment in Africa of a native college under Government control and supported financially

* *The Education of the South African Native.* Loram. (Longmans.)

by the Governments of Africa. The qualifying curriculum need not, probably should not, be that of the European and American universities, but it should be broad enough and high enough to secure recognition by the professional authorities in Europe and America. There are about 2,000 schools in South Africa, whose teaching staffs are provided by some 27 training institutions which have to-day 2,312 students enrolled, and again the striking fact emerges that throughout the Orange Free State there is not a single institution for the training of teachers.

South Africa and indeed other political areas are therefore confronted to-day with the really grave problem of higher education, namely that the colour-bar of South Africa and the lack of facilities in other areas are together driving the better-class natives to Europe and America in order to seek those standards of education which will fit them for professional careers. The result is frankly deplorable, for it permits of the absorption of the white man's vices and at the same time destroys in the native some of the most attractive features of the African race before the youthful African has even approached years of discretion. A by-product in South Africa is the spread of Ethiopianism which in the African is as destructive of real progress and racial amity as the colour-bar so firmly held and so vigorously applied by the white races.

Of all the territories under the direct rule of an oversea sovereignty that of the Gold Coast has been the most happy and prosperous. It has

been blessed with a trinity of conditions of cardinal importance :

1. Security of land occupancy title.
2. Native agricultural industry.
3. A long line of Governors devoted to the interests of the people.

The late Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford, was a worthy successor to George Maclean, who ruled without any army but with the help of the chiefs from 1830 to 1844, also to Sir John Rodger, to whom more than any other man the Gold Coast owes the foundation of its economic stability. Sir Hugh Clifford assumed responsibility for the Government of the Gold Coast at the close of 1912 and with Lady Clifford has devoted the last six years to the welfare of the people. The character of the man and the secret of his success is indicated by a single fact—Sir Hugh Clifford determined that, consistent with his general duties, he would at an early date get into personal touch with every native ruler throughout the territory. Those who know what this meant will realize the immensity of the task—the journeys through swamps and forest, the delays and apparent waste of time, the disappointments, the fevers, the expenditure of vital energy; but it was accomplished, and now every Native Chief throughout the land knows that in the Governor he has a personal friend familiar with the difficulties of his tribe. It is true that Sir Hugh Clifford makes light of this accomplishment and says, “The extent to which in practice a Governor

can influence is necessarily very limited," others may be allowed to form a different opinion, and when those others happen incidentally to include virtually the whole population of the Colony and Protectorate as some of us know they do, successful administration is assured.

In the first place Sir Hugh Clifford tells us that he spends £37,500 a year in education, and says this "is a pitifully small sum for the Colony of the standing of the Gold Coast," and one can only guess at the causes which are crabbing the education of the people. But the amount of education done with this "pitifully small sum" and with the help of missions is quite appreciable.

The schools number nearly 200, of which 16 are Government schools and the remainder receive Government assistance according to the standard reached by the pupils. The enrolment of scholars is 25,000 and the attendance 20,000. Sir Hugh Clifford is far from satisfied with the expenditure on education and the existing facilities. He says :

"The importance of any knowledge that is obtained being of a solid and thorough description is not, perhaps, so generally appreciated; but there can be no doubt that there exists among the rising generation throughout the Gold Coast what I can only describe as a genuine hunger for education. If this demand is to be adequately met, the expenditure of public money upon a very considerable scale will have to be incurred, and I cannot reasonably

expect that the Government will find itself possessed of the necessary funds during the remaining period of my administration. I may, however, be permitted to record my personal views concerning the action which should be taken when the opportunity to act once more presents itself.”*

For boldness and clarity of vision the programme which Sir Hugh Clifford then sets forth leaves little to be desired, and might well be adopted as an educational policy for every Dependency in the African continent :

1. To make “ primary education accessible to all children of school-going age.”
2. A Training College for each of the Provinces—Central, Western, Ashanti.
3. Considerable increase in the emoluments of the teaching staffs.
4. Finally “ a Royal College analogous to that which is provided, for instance, by the Colony of Trinidad.”

It is not surprising that so bold and challenging a programme should encounter opposition ; Sir Hugh Clifford frankly meets this with the following remark :

“ The spread of education in the Gold Coast will inevitably be regulated by the Colony’s financial position, and it is probable that for some years to come the task of making primary education accessible to all will prove a sufficient

* Message to the Legislative Council, 1919.

tax upon its resources. That the educated classes in the Gold Coast are sufficiently advanced to make the establishment of secondary schools highly desirable cannot, I think, be questioned; but I base my opinion that primary education should claim priority upon the fact that, in this part of West Africa, there is no indigenous philosophy or literature to be rendered accessible by a study of the vernaculars, as is usually the case in the East, and that the only available path to intellectual enlightenment is therefore offered by an English education."

It should then be the duty of the Christian Church to press forward the following educational programme and to assist so far as possible its application, including: Primary education accessible to all children of school-going age, Training Colleges for teachers, Agricultural Colleges with experimental farms for the training of instructors and inspectors, an African College whose educational standard should be broad enough and high enough to secure recognition by the professional authorities in Europe and America.

CHAPTER II

INDUSTRIAL MISSIONS

“INDUSTRIAL Missions” in Africa are made to cover every form of industrial effort, from the mission boy who makes deck chairs for the mission house to the very efficient and highly-organized agricultural and artisan systems of the Roman Catholic Church. In the new social order which must be evolved in the African continent, industrial training must play a large part. The missionary societies must realize that their task includes not merely the conversion of “the heathen” from the errors of “pagan” faith, but that of assisting the African to become a new creature in Christ. It is not enough to teach the African to lay down the sword and spear, to abandon witchcraft, and then leave him to take in seven devils more diabolical than those which the missionary has succeeded in turning out. Into the converted African must be instilled a new faith, a new vision, and a new life.

Missionary societies in Africa take a differing view of industrial missions ; quite a large proportion of the missionaries take the view that their duty is solely that of preaching the Gospel, but even these men find it necessary to train boys

to carpentry and building upon a scale sufficiently adequate to meet the ordinary needs of the mission station. This is as far as they care to go, but it is a misnomer to call this industrial missionary work.

The second class of industrial work is much more ambitious, namely, that of producing artisans capable of supplying the need of white commercial companies both with artisan workers and the implements required by such companies for their industrial undertakings. In this way brick-layers, carpenters, engine-drivers, mechanics, etc., are trained for employment by the immigrant white races in the continent.

The third class, and not a very large one, is that of plantations run by white missionaries in the interests of white overseas consumers. Coffee, cocoa and rubber plantations are laid out, and the natives are employed in producing commodities the profits of which, if any, go towards maintaining the mission staff and assisting them in "preaching the Gospel."

In each of these systems there are serious weaknesses, but far and away the most serious is that neither of them secures that essential and paramount objective of fitting the African to become in the fullest sense a citizen capable of discharging all functions of a man in Church, State and Commerce. At the same time certain features expose, and rightly expose, the Christian Church to criticism.

It is the practice of certain missions to subsidize plantation work by donations from missionary supporters, and upon the face of it there can be

no objection to this course ; if, however, this system is closely investigated, it will be found that it rests upon an unsound basis and one which does a distinct injury to neighbouring plantations, if not to the employers themselves. Mr. Smith, the planter, developing his coffee or rubber estate upon a commercial basis, pays those wages which the profits on the industry permit ; he cannot pay more, otherwise in due course he becomes insolvent. The Rev. Thomas Jones, running the adjoining plantation, pays higher wages, but he does so by drawing upon the donations of his subscribers, and thus subsidizes the industry which is in fact economically unsound ; he may not pay more in actual wages ; generally, I believe, the plan is to import goods, as does his lay neighbour Mr. Smith, but whilst the commercial planter must put on a profit of 25 per cent. to cover costs, the missionary planter uses his subscribed funds in order to sell his imported goods at "reduced prices" to his employees.

It will be obvious that a system of this nature must attract labour to the missionary planter unless the commercial planter can offer inducements more seductive to his employees, but the ordinary planter cannot offer more money because he is operating on a commercial basis, but he can and often does offer other temptations from which the missionary planter is quite obviously and rightly precluded. The ordinary result is a very unsavoury state of affairs and perpetual friction between the "good" and the "wicked" industries. Merchants complain, and not without

cause, that industrial missions of this type often lead to economic demoralization of the native, and that in every case the subsidization of commerce by employing funds sent for religious objects exposes them to unfair competition.

In continental and in most American Protestant missionary societies, as in all Roman Catholic missions, there is no hesitation whatever in undertaking industrial work, but there has been in the past certainly, and there probably still exists in British missionary circles, the feeling that the duty of the missionary should be strictly limited to "preaching the Gospel." Practical minded people, like the Society of Friends, state that local circumstances in India "have compelled Friends in common with most societies working in India to develop the industrial side of the work." The late Sir Victor Buxton, a leading member of the Church Missionary Society, in one of his articles, says: "My aim is to show how it is that those interested in missions are *driven** to the consideration of industrial questions."

The time has come to offer to this sentiment a friendly challenge to show that no apology of any sort or kind is needed, providing always that the work is based upon a sound principle and in the hands of the right type of men and women. After all, the founder of the Christian Faith worked as a Carpenter, whilst the greatest of apostolic missionaries appears not only to have made preaching possible, but enhanced his message by the practical use of his needle in tent making.

* Italics mine. J. H. H.

The whole objective of the Christian Church should be to train backward peoples to work out their own spiritual salvation hand in hand with assisting them to work out on Christian lines their own economic salvation.

The basis of economic prosperity in Africa is the land, and the capacity of that prosperity is limited only by the productivity of that land. Following upon land development, not coincident and certainly not prior, as some suppose, come the artisan, the merchant and the clerical staff. The first essential, therefore, is to develop native agriculture ; happily this is a sphere already familiar to the native ; there is no need to teach him how to grow bananas and cassava, but there is great need to emphasize the value of thoroughly breaking up the soil, the importance of catch crops, and of the use of manure.

Without the danger of irrelevancy it is necessary to postulate that a stable Christian community rests upon an adequate and secure tenure of land for indigenous people. This is no mere theory, for the most cursory examination of missionary statistics shows that the most flourishing churches are situated in territories where the natives possess the largest scope for developing under secure title the land they have occupied for generations. It follows that industrial missions can only be really successful where the native does possess such tenure. The African, like every other human, rests his economics upon confidence ; given a confidence that his title to land is secure he will at once set about developing it. The

European landowner would never dream of planting standard apple trees upon a land tenancy of three years ; just so the African will plant the yearly cropping cassava upon any patch, but being no fool he refuses to lay down a seven-year cocoanut plantation upon land he occupies to-day, but from which he may be evicted to-morrow.

The foundation of African prosperity is, then, first, adequacy of land ; secondly, security of tenure, and, finally, confidence in a potential market. A real industrial mission would grip these three essentials and find its own niche in providing a safe market for fair prices.

The native is the real factor in the actual development of the land, whilst under present-day conditions the white man is the vital element in a market which will encourage the native producer.

The secret of industrial success in most African territories lies in the development of the African. This proposition has only to be considered a single moment for it to become apparent. The advantages attaching to native owned and managed estates as compared with those owned and managed by white men are considerable. A plantation employing say 1,000 labourers under white management and organized as a white man's industry required in the Portuguese and in the late German colonies a total white establishment of 25 to 30 white men, including director, managers, doctor, overseers, clerical and storage staff. Each white man required European quarters ; some were, and all should be, married,

for all of whom European dwelling houses are required. The whole staff also needs very large supplies of European provisions and general commodities. The establishment charges upon white-managed plantations are thus a heavy handicap upon industry. The average emoluments for white men in such regions exceed considerably £600 per annum, the cost of each European house over £1,000, or a total annual charge for these items on a single plantation well over £10,000. To this figure must be added sea voyages every year for seniors and every two years for juniors, also the wastage attaching to unsuitability or ill-health of employees, carriage and dues on imported provisions, widows and orphans, and pensions.

It is therefore obvious that the secret of intensive development in tropical and sub-tropical Africa is with the son of the soil, who when suitably trained can lay down and manage plantations without the incubus of the foregoing white establishment charges. Sir Hugh Clifford, the popular Ex-Governor of the Gold Coast, has on more than one occasion emphasized the value of this system in the Gold Coast Colony. In his speech before a recent meeting of the Legislative Council he said :

“ When it is remembered that cocoa cultivation is, in the Gold Coast and in Ashanti, a purely native industry ; that there is hardly an acre of European-owned cocoa-garden in the territories under the administration of this Government—this remarkable achievement of

a unique position as a producer of one of the world's great staples assumes, in my opinion, a special value and significance."

Native land tenure and native industry being the highway to economic progress, the industrial Christian mission has thus presented to it the fascinating opportunity of erecting upon this solid foundation a truly national life, solidified by a healthy Christian faith. The State can do much, Commerce can do much more, but only the moral and spiritual forces which spring from the Christian faith can single-handed compass the whole moral, spiritual and economic "stature" of the African.

Belief in the African, confidence in his ability to develop his own soil, is the first practical essential for applied industrial effort. The African is never seen at his best when working as a wage labourer, therefore to a belief in the African as a producer must be added the vision which can look beyond the wage-earning "nigger" to the industrious small-holder tilling his own soil and reaping his own harvest for the benefit of himself and his family. This belief and this vision must in turn be reinforced by knowledge and study whilst success and the causes of failure in other fields must be the daily mental food of those who wish to establish industrial effort.

The practical application of industrial missions falls into a threefold category : (a) Estates, (b) Commerce, (c) Subsidiary Industries.

For reasons already explained, the laying down

of estates under white management must be avoided. Such methods can only be permanently a paying proposition, and even then a poor one, provided the native is to be permanently relegated to the position of "a hewer of wood and drawer of water," a position which is against every missionary interest and aim, no less than against all economic factors. At the same time small experimental plantations when undertaken by the Administration should be attached to every industrial centre. The object of these should be educational and not commercial, and for this purpose must be run with a degree of efficiency always ahead of the best commercial estates.

These educational estates should be living examples of the latest science upon spacing, shading and cleanliness. The pupils should be the potential Inspectors of plantations and Instructors of the native farmers throughout the Colony; the white personnel should be able to give practical lectures both upon botany and the even more vital science of entomology. Chemistry should play its part by giving instructions in the theory and practice of culture. Demonstrations, lectures and pamphlets upon such vital subjects as soils, insecticides, and the preparation of products for the market should also be included in the work of the chemist.

These experimental plantations, in a word, should be the hub of knowledge for the native farmers, the centre to which they could go in any difficulty. Their maintenance would, of course, be a fairly heavy charge upon an industrial mission, but the credit side of the account would

be considerable, and thus the mission, if strong enough, could also undertake responsibility for experimental farms. Insecticides, the best type of tools, nursery plants, literature, service fees and numbers of small supplies carrying a good profit would be supplied by such estates. Another lucrative source of revenue is that of the hiring of mechanism. African agriculture is laborious by reason of the ubiquitous tree stumps which involve much labour more usefully expended elsewhere ; a stump "Jack" is too expensive for a native to purchase outright, but he would gladly pay a daily fee for the hire of the instrument. The same applies to breaking up the soil; how gladly would the native pay for the hire of a motor tractor to follow in the wake of the stump "Jack." Thus the hire of such implements would mean a good revenue producer for the educational estate of any industrial mission.

The second main feature of industrial effort should be that of providing a good market for native produce. It should always be the aim of such industrial missions to ensure to the native not merely good prices for raw materials but the best prices for the best produce; in a word, to do everything possible to encourage the native to increase both the volume and the quality of production.

Confidence in the market is the greatest incentive to European and American production, and this is no less true of the African producer. The industrial mission agency should be thrown widely open to purchase at a fair price every

saleable commodity the African can produce. The commercial sphere of an industrial mission must be sound, it must demonstrate that fair trading is sound business, that efficiency and honesty are in practice the best policy, that educated Christian native employers are not merely good and polite business men, but that every time they can beat the shady trader, every time they can produce a balance sheet in which every figure will be eloquent of sound and honest commerce. For an industrial trading mission to show financial results dependent on charity is indicative not merely of financial disaster, but of failure all along the line—the forces of Christianity are out for success and not a persistent apology for failure.

But whilst industrial missions should in the commercial sphere aim at financial success, their leaders must avoid large surplus profits which lay them open to the charge of exploitation. It is just here that a dozen problems can be solved at a stroke. The Basel Mission in Switzerland organized its operations in India and Africa upon the basis of a limited dividend of 5 per cent. and devoted the surplus to the extension of other branches of its operations. It is probable that its profits were something like a net of 40 per cent. on its capital, and thus very large sums were available for other purposes.

It is difficult now to fix what is a reasonable profit upon industrial mission transactions, but if all surplus profits, after making provision for reserve and limited dividends, are devoted to the welfare of the inhabitants in territories in which

the money is made, then no charge of profiteering can be sustained. This, of course, raises the question of a legitimate return on invested capital, and here again it is difficult to fix a permanent standard, but if 1 to 2 per cent. beyond the prevailing Bank rate is fixed, then very little criticism can be levelled against the enterprise ; true, it is more than the ordinary "Trust Funds," but equally is it true that the "gilt" on the "edge" is very thin.

Taking the Basel Mission as a standard, with its probable 40 per cent., or perhaps the safer figure of a certain 25 per cent. on commercial transactions, the first deduction would be say 7 per cent. for dividends on invested capital and 8 per cent. for reserves and extensions. The industrial mission would then have 10 per cent. available for the welfare of the people. This surplus profit should be placed in the hands of Trustees whose duty it should be to assist education in its widest sense : Experimental Estates, Lectureships, Educational Scholarships, Travel Scholarships might all of them look to such trust funds for grants. The main object of such fund should be to elevate the people and their industrial prosperity to a plane from which the whole State would benefit.

The foundation of industrial missions being secure indigenous title to land, the superstructure being first education in more intensive culture, and secondly the provision of a "good market," the third and final sphere of an auxiliary but subsidiary training is then reached.

The measure of indigenous agricultural pros-

perity is the factor which determines the demand for the artisan, the clerk, the doctor, and that which the African loves most of all—the eloquent lawyer ! Without such indigenous prosperity there is little room for any of these, but they are all essential occupations in the mosaic of African progress.

The training for the lawyer and the doctor begins with the mission school, and is thus outside the scope of an industrial mission, unless a measure of industrial training would lead to the charge of more reasonable legal fees, but until the white legal and medical fraternity set the example there is little hope that the African will bring his fees more into harmony with the capacity of his clients !

Experimental estates and commerce provide the best training centres for the artisan and the clerk. To each experimental estate should be attached workshops for the supply of construction materials, transport and furniture, according to the needs of the district. To this institution might be sent promising young Africans upon terms of apprenticeship which would again be a legitimate field for assistance for the surplus profits in the hands of the Trustees.

The commercial centres provide the best training ground for clerical work, and here again the principle of assisted apprenticeships should be adopted, particularly with a view to training men who would become what Africa needs almost more than anything else—safe custodians of public and private monies.

There is, however, one great danger to watch, namely, that the supply of the artisan and clerical staffs do not greatly exceed the demand and thereby cause distress and disaffection. Already there are signs that this is taking place in several African areas. The demand will always depend upon the general agricultural progress of the community, hence the supreme importance of developing commerce with the utmost energy, whilst proceeding slowly in what is technically called industrial education.

As in every branch of missionary work, everything depends upon the men, and for industrial mission work men must be born and not made. The foundation of their training must be commercial and industrial; to put men in charge of industrial work in Africa who have had no commercial training whatever is to court disaster. Given this foundation, there must be vision and character. The ideal man is he whose early years have been spent in commerce and industry, at a later date catching the vision of service to humanity. In this man will usually be found an enthusiasm for great causes, so nicely balanced by sound judgment that into whatever he puts his soul, mind and body—he cannot but succeed.

CHAPTER III

RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA

To the Christian Church the issue of capital importance is the work to be done rather than the work accomplished. It is probable that a total of less than 3,000,000 Africans belong to-day to one or other of the sections of the Christian Church in Africa, whilst it is equally probable that 100,000,000 out of the total population of 120,000,000 have not the remotest knowledge of the message of the Christian Faith. Startling facts for contemplation by the Christian nations!

The religious beliefs of Africa are in the following order : (1) Indigenous, (2) Mohammedan, (3) Christian, (4) Jewish. It will be noted that the word "pagan" is seldom used, for the reason that the author regards the African as a deeply religious man, and that in certain respects African worship appears to go deeper and is not less pure than the general religious atmosphere of so-called civilized races. It is therefore essential to consider the beliefs of the African as a basis upon which it is possible to erect a stable faith.

Indigenous African beliefs revolve round a system of secret societies, witchcraft, "Jujus"

ancestor worship, and a certain amount of Biblical tradition, distorted of course, but still with unmistakable resemblance to the foundation of the Monotheistic beliefs of the Christian Church.

Mons. Curran defines African Secret Societies as "aristocratic castes which are founded upon religion and whose object is government."* This definition is not at all bad, but it is faulty in that it does not convey any impression of the gross evils which too often attend the operations of the cult. It is true that the Secret Societies are founded upon an inward religious belief, it is equally true that the objects are directed towards government, it is also true that membership often confers substantial advantages in trade and travel, also that it gives protection in domestic and national affairs, but membership frequently involves the obligation to commit the most violent excesses, probably the most complete example of this being that of the Human Leopard with its sister branch, the Human Alligator Society.

How far these two societies extend their operations none can say, but their malevolent influence is most potent in Sierra Leone and Sherboro, whilst their headquarters are believed to have been in the Imperi country. The Human Leopard Society inspires the greatest terror wherever a "Lodge" is established; its organization is stated to have been of recent growth, but there is evidence that its initiation goes back to time immemorial.

The deity of the Society is "Borfimah" and

* *Savage Man in Central Africa.* T. Fisher Unwin.

the material fetish is thus described by Dr. Burrows of Sierra Leone :

“Borfimah is usually a Calabash or Gourd, usually an elongated one, but sometimes a leather bag, and it is stuffed with a composition as complex as it is disgusting, and recalls the worst concoctions of the witches of our early literature with added horrors.”*

Into this receptacle is placed a composition made from wax, mud, blood and—this is the indispensable constituent—a small portion of human fat ; it is this latter constituent which creates such widespread terror, for it involves murder and leads to a measure of cannibalism.

The members of the Society bear a cicatrized mark on the hip, and when delivering their dreadful messages inflicting extortion or death, they quietly draw aside their loin cloth in order to disclose the authority and real import of their message. Initiation into the rights and privileges of the Society is said to be by the delivery of a human body.

Upon the night chosen for carrying out the “mandate,” the “Leopard-men” are selected, then arrayed in leopard skins, shod with wooden imitations of leopards’ feet ; in their hands the men carry a terrible instrument representing the paw and claws of a leopard, the claws being a three-pronged fork. Dr. Burrows thus graphically describes the actual attack :

* *Journal of the African Society*, January, 1914.

“ At the appointed hour, when it is quite dark, a strange flute-like whistling, like that of the Pipes of Pan, and produced by blowing over short lengths of bamboo, is heard in the bush which comes right up to the outermost houses of the town or village. Long custom and tradition have inculcated their lesson, and at the dread sound there is a scurrying into the houses, and doors are closed securely. The hapless victim is sent on some fictitious errand, and is pounced on by the leopard-men, who first lacerate the throat with the sharp claw-knives, sometimes severing all the vital structures, and they then return into the bush growling and roaring like leopards the while, and this noise is continued until the victim is carried safely into the sacred bush. The villagers are afraid to venture out—some, the uninitiated, imagining there are real leopards about, and others are too sensible to run the risk of undue curiosity. After a while a hue and cry is raised, and the victim’s blood points to the tragedy ; but are these not marks of the leopard’s feet ? And were there not growls and roars heard ? Surely a leopard has taken away somebody ! then there is weeping and wailing ! ”

The victim, half dead from his or her terrible wounds, is then dragged into the bush and finally despatched, the internal organs removed and carefully examined and finally the priceless fat of the kidney is removed for the propitiation of Borfimah. Tiny portions of flesh, wrapped

in banana leaves, are despatched with extraordinary rapidity to every member of the "Lodge," who, hastily swallowing it, has the confidence that Borfimah has thereby been strengthened to execute his will and protect his adherents.

Dr. Burrows says that the power of Borfimah is so great that professing Christians who have perjured themselves on oath with the Bible, upon being resworn on Borfimah have been so terrified that they have immediately confessed perjury and "told the plain unvarnished truth" !

In 1913, Sir Edward Merewether, whilst expressing the hope that the activities of the Society had suffered a check, says :

"The blind belief of the natives in the efficacy of the 'medicines' concocted by the Society (especially that known as 'Borfimah'); the power and authority enjoyed by the possessors of these medicines; the fact that periodical human sacrifices are considered to be necessary in order to renew the efficacy of the medicines; and a tendency on the part of some natives to cannibalism pure and simple—all these causes will contribute to the survival of this baneful organization. It has held sway for many years—possibly for centuries—and the task of stamping it out will undoubtedly be one of great difficulty."

It will probably be found that the only way of administrative salvation will lie, as in the "twin murder" customs of Calabar, in leading the religious aspirations of the natives into an accept-

ance of the Christian faith which in the "Oil Rivers" has brought with it the virtual abolition of twin murder. This lengthy description of the Leopard Society is only justified as being typical of the worst Secret Societies, and is so fully quoted because its operations have been more completely and more scientifically examined than that of almost any other of the numberless Secret Societies of the African continent.

It seems fitting at this point to throw into sharp contrast the characteristic features of good in the Secret Societies. As Mr. Amaury Talbot says :

" For most of us, the very term 'juju' has grown to be almost synonymous with dark and dreadful shrines, hideous rites, and the long-drawn-out agony of victims. Of the other side of the picture—of juju as a sanctuary for the oppressed, and forbiddor of bloodshed, avenger of crime, and preacher of peace and goodwill—too little is known. Yet there is such a side."*

The example he quotes is that of the "Peace of the Earth Goddess," whose all pervading spirit is a thing of beauty :

" pale of skin . . . there would therefore seem to be certain indications pointing to the probability that the so-called juju was really a shipwrecked woman."†

* *Journal of the African Society*, July, 1916. † *Ibid.*

It is an interesting fact that a goddess, named Goodness, and certain beneficent spirits enter into the folk lore and societies of several African tribes. Witchcraft and wizardry play a large part in African beliefs, and much of this again circles round the restraint of evil. In every part of the continent the moon and the winds play a predominant part in witchcraft. R. E. Dennett, who has probably made a closer study of African beliefs than any other living man, thus accounts for the moon being the "mother of witchcraft":

"The moon both in the Congo and Yoruba land is said to have had three star children, and the story says that, although the moon was chaste and beautiful, her attraction was such that it filled one of her sons with lust. He chased and overtook her, and against her will despoiled her. In time she gave birth to wicked spirits who thought and acted in opposition to those Bakici baci, who as beneficent powers are the owners of the sacred groves. In this way the moon is said to be the mother of witchcraft."

Mrs. Abdy, discussing witchcraft amongst the Wahadimu, a people in East Africa thought to have come originally from Zanzibar, points out that the wizardry of these people, whilst exhibiting many evil traits, possesses nevertheless wide influence as a deterrent, and in this connection tells a story of a wizard which has more than one obvious moral.

The name of a corpse was Mzengwa Msa and the name of the wizard Achani Msa, the third name in the story was that of a brother Ngwa Msa :

“ Mzengwa Msa, being ill, said, before his death, ‘ If a man digs me up, my body will stick to his, till we are buried both together.’ Ngwa Msa, his brother, came to dig him up, and said to him, ‘ You, although you say, when you are dead if a man digs you up you will stick to him—well, I will dig you up to-day, and if you stick (you may) stick ! ’—and he took him on his back.

“ He danced with him all night, and put him down (and took him up again), and danced, and put him down (and took him up), and danced ; but at dawn, when he wanted to put him down, the corpse stuck to him. Ngwa Msa said, ‘ Do not put me to shame—the words which you said in this world do go with them as far as the next. Get down, my brother, it is dawn, the birds are calling, because it is getting light. Get down my brother, if you do not leave me, people will laugh at you.’”*

In vain were the appeals of the wretched Ngwa Msa, in shame and sorrow he crept behind his house and hid himself ; here his wife found him with the putrefying corpse adhering to his body. Three days and nights Ngwa Msa uttered a

* *Journal of the African Society*, April, 1917.

piteous plea for relief, wife and friends joined in the supplications, but the adherent corpse imparted its putrefaction, and on the third day Ngwa Msa paid with his life the penalty of his folly—the two corpses were buried together.

Whilst it is true that the African indigenous beliefs repose largely upon a really terrible fear of the spirit world, the elements in those beliefs which render the African races fertile soil for the seeds of the Christian faith are very substantial. The African belief accepts a Creator, not only omniscient and omnipresent, but a Benevolent Being, seeking the good of his created children, and finally that the social order of the world has been thrown into chaos by evil powers of spirits and the wickedness of man.

There is the further asset in the belief of the resurrection and ultimate heavenly bliss. In his *Notes on the Folk Lore of the Fjorts*, Mr. Dennett shows that to the Fjorts death was merely a passing away and not death in the material sense, that the voice of the departed was supposed to be retained in the shape of dust encased in the horns of an antelope called *Sexi*. The practice rests upon the belief that the family may communicate through this charm with their ancestors who are in Heaven.

It is impossible in a single chapter to quote at length from the remarkable studies of Dennett upon the religious beliefs of the Africans. The following striking paragraphs indicate the value of his work upon the foundation of the religious beliefs of the African.

“ Rain he soon associated with motherhood ; solids with seed and with sonship. The sun he looked upon as the husband of the moon, and these two with marriage and the seasons. He called his offspring after birds, fishes and animals. The order here is the order in which the human family has been developed, and the physical family in this order agrees with the order of the symbols of creation in the sacred groves and the order in Genesis. Another often recurring cycle which must have impressed the father or worshipper was and is that of procreation. Hidden in some dark region of the father’s body lies the seed of future life, which, transmitted through the mother, appears in the son. Marriage, conception, pregnancy, and travail follow one another, and so comes a new life.”

“ Again, imagine to yourself a native in some primitive dwelling. The night is very dark. The whistling winds shake the trees around his fragile hut. Everything is in a state of motion. Cruel but magnificent flashes of lightning almost blind him. Loud claps of thunder deafen and stupefy him. Rain then falls in torrents. At last, just before dawn, silence gives him rest. He gets up, and first of all sees nothing but a thick white mist around him. Then the mist lifts, and he sees the land and trees about him. And now the sun, like a silvery gold disc, appears in the sky. The birds fly singing from their nests, and the fish leap and dive in the rivers. Then animals, men and women leave their resting places, and go about

their various occupations. The Order is everywhere."

Numerically Mohammedanism is the first amongst the organized religious movements of Africa. As a political force Mohammedanism ceased to be effective with the progressive defeats of the Kalifa of Khartoum, the Sultans of Sokoto, the Senussi and Mohammedan chiefs of the French and Italian Protectorates. But Mohammedanism as a religious force is extraordinarily powerful, whilst it is pushing its propaganda ever nearer the equatorial line, and has in fact crossed it at several points in the East Central and Eastern areas of the continent, whilst vigorous communities are settled in Cape Town, Durban and other coastal ports.

Mohammedanism, although politically powerless, has allies of no mean order. It cannot be denied that for various reasons, most of them obscure, local governments and government officials give the benefit of any doubt to the Mohammedan community and often go out of their way to show respect for Mohammedanism. Another powerful ally is to be found in the fighting forces. The discipline of the Mohammedan faith, coupled with its martial sentiments, produce under European military instructors, men who quickly become efficient soldiers.

Mohammedan military forces logically spell Mohammedan Chaplains or Mallams in the pay of the Government. The pagan elements incorporated in the forces quickly come under this

dominant influence, with the result that Government machinery is largely used in the propagation of the Mohammedan faith.

Merchandise plays no inconsiderable part. It is not merely that every Mohammedan trader is a missionary, it is that the Mohammedan merchant has a community of interest in every town and village of the vast hinterland which is denied to the "pagan" and Christian trader because the hinterland peoples have no religious affinity, which in practice means violent hostility. It is difficult to find a more complete and impressive summing up of the Mohammedan situation in Africa than in the eloquent words of Bishop J. C. Hartzell :

"To-day there are more than 50,000,000 Mohammedans in Africa. Most of them are North of the Equator, and form ninety-five per cent. of the population. North Africa is the intellectual and aggressive centre of Mohammedanism for the conquest of Africa, and from there powerful influences affect the whole Moslem world. The great Cairo university and other educational centres; the fanatical and powerful Cenusian movement, a veritable Moslem Jesuitism; and the methods of propaganda by trade and political influence, together with the war cry, 'Africa for Mohammed,' form the strategy of a victorious continental movement unless checked by a united, powerful, and systematic continental policy by the mission forces of the Christian faith."*

* *Proceedings of the African Conference, New York. November 20th to 22nd, 1917.*

The Jewish and Hindoo faiths possess small communities numbering together less than 1,000,000 scattered through coastal regions of North, East and South Africa.

In reviewing the whole religious situation in Africa, the dominating thought which oppresses one is the grave inadequacy of the Christian forces and the apparent inability of Christian civilization to grasp the enormous importance of the problem. Africa's 120 millions of people are virtually untouched by the Christian faith, 3,000,000 being the most optimistic figure one can give. The white messengers of the Christian Faith, Protestant and Catholic, cannot exceed 10,000, which means that to each man and woman is allotted on the average the care of 300 Christian souls and the responsibility of endeavouring to reach 13,000 people who have never been brought into living touch with the elementary truths of Christianity.

The following summary is taken from the tables submitted to the New York Conference of 1917, and presents the situation at a glance :

Total missionary forces, including men and women, Protestant and Catholic, estimated	10,000
Total number of Christians ...	3,000,000
Total number including children under Christian influence	10,600,000

CHAPTER IV

CRITICS OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

HOSTILE critics of missionary work in Africa abound on every hand, and in so far as these criticisms are just the Christian Church should not resent, but examine them closely and if possible remove the cause. But where criticism is based upon prejudice it can be ignored, for sooner or later the critic will assuredly come to grief. The Christian missionary societies would probably be the first to admit their failures in certain areas, and would doubtless admit readily that several boys trained in the mission schools at Freetown or Nairobi have been convicted of theft, whilst their language is as foul as that of the lowest type of white man. The exclamation one often hears is : "There's your mission boy !" —what one does not hear, and what the missionary has every right to point out is that theft was not learned from the school authorities, whilst the foul language was taught the African, not by the missionary, but by that most hostile critic of missionary work—the low-class white !

In Africa there are inefficient mission stations, there are missionaries who should never have been sent out, there are on the spot to-day a few

who might with advantage be recalled, there are African products of Christian teaching who would disgrace the most pagan faith, there are some mission policies which are indefensible, there are, in short, imperfections and shortcomings in every mission field, but with absolute confidence one can say that every single one of these criticisms can be levelled with much greater justice against almost every administration and equally against almost every commercial undertaking in the continent.

But to these hostile criticisms there is a volume of rebutting testimony which provides the most effective answer. Henry W. Nevinson, that excellent writer, well known for his deep sympathy with the natives and his service in combating slavery among them, is certainly no orthodox Christian, but his attitude towards mission work in Africa is well depicted in the following passage:

“ I have heard one of the most experienced and influential of all the missionaries discussing with his highest class of native teachers whether all Persons of the Trinity were present at Eve’s temptation ; and when one of them asked what would have happened if Adam had refused to eat the apple, the class was driven to suppose that in that case men would have remained perfect, while women became as wicked as we see them now. It was a doctrine very acceptable to the native mind, but to hear those rather beautiful old stories still taught as the actual history of the world makes one’s brain

whirl. One feels helpless and confused and adrift from reason, as when another missionary, whose name is justly famous, told me that there were references to Moscow in Ezekiel, and Daniel had exactly foretold the course of the Russia-Japanese war. The native has enough to puzzle his brain as it is. On one side he has the Christian ideal of peace and good-will, of temperance and poverty and honour and self-sacrifice, and of a God who is love. And on the other side he has somehow to understand the Christian's contumely, the Christian's incalculable injustice, his cruelty and deceit, his insatiable greed for money, his traffic in human beings whom the Christian calls God's children. When the native's mind is hampered and entangled in questions like these, no one has a right to increase his difficulties by telling him to believe primitive stories which, as historical facts, are no truer than the native's own myths.”*

It would not be surprising if Nevinson more than most men would subject the missionary and his work to vigorous criticism, yet this is what he says :

“ As to the scandals and sneers of traders, officials, and gold-prospectors against the missions, let us pass them by. They are only the weary old language of ‘ the world.’ They are like the sneers of butchers and publicans

* *A Modern Slavery.*

at astronomy. They are the tribute of the enemy, the assurance that all is not in vain. . . . I have nothing but good to say of the missionaries and their work.”*

This then is the wholehearted and sincere testimony of one of the most experienced of the world’s writers and travellers.

Another traveller, quite outside missionary circles, but in intimate touch as a counsellor with the scientific and administrative world is Miss Violet Markham. In her interesting book *The South African Scene*, Miss Markham says of missionary work in Basutoland :

“ Detractors of missionary work must find Basutoland somewhat a stumbling-block in the path of their theories, missionary influence having been the dominant one in the land to the benefit of all concerned.”

Sir Charles Eliot, Britain’s High Commissioner in East Africa, writing with that official reserve of language so characteristic of all his reports, says of missionary work in Uganda :

“ In the East Africa Protectorate I can give the missionaries nothing but praise and thanks. This encomium cannot, perhaps, be extended unreservedly to Uganda, where politics mingled with religion, and the Roman Catholics became the French party opposed to the Protestant and English party. But this difference is now a

* *A Modern Slavery.*

thing of the past, and one can only say that, if formerly religious zeal in Uganda overstepped the bounds of law and order, the harvest of this somewhat violent sowing has been rich and abundant beyond comparison ; for there is probably hardly any other instance where a heathen country has adopted Christianity and education with such enthusiasm. Also, if the beginnings of Christianity in Uganda were somewhat mixed up with politics, it must be admitted that the result is politically important and satisfactory.”*

Mr. Maurice Evans has the advantage of writing after long years of close personal study of native problems in Africa and America and writes with the additional advantage of being completely independent of administrative, commercial or missionary influence. In a section of his work upon *Black and White in South East Africa*, Mr. Evans declares that there are to-day three potent influences in the evolution of the Bantu people :

“ The third force is that exercised by the missionaries. In the early days the teaching and influence of the missionaries were probably the strongest factors in the breaking down of the old order, but with the increase of European population, and especially since the opening up of the Witwatersrand and other gold-fields, their influence in this disintegrating operation is comparatively small. What is affecting the

* *East Africa Protectorate.*

most profound change in the native is his contact with the white man at all points, and this change is proceeding with ever-accelerated speed. The fundamental differences between these changes and those wrought by the missionaries, are that, in the former there is little building up of any salutary influence to take the place of the old wholesome restraints, whilst in the latter religion and morality are inculcated and replace the checks weakened or destroyed."

Lord Bryce, than whom none is held in higher esteem as an impartial observer and judge, thus writes of missionary work in South Africa :

" So much may certainly be said : that the Gospel and the mission schools are at present the most truly civilizing influences which work upon the natives, and that upon these influences, more than on any other agency, does the progress of the coloured race depend."

The foregoing are five appreciations from no mean authorities, all of whom are outside missionary circles, but each necessarily looks at missionary work from a different angle. There is, however, one recorded testimony of collective and official character which should for ever silence criticisms of missionary work, namely the Report of Sir Godfrey Lagden's Commission. The established value of mission work is summarized under sections :

(a) *Moral Improvement.*

“There is no influence equal to that of religious belief.”

(b) *Legal Restraint.*—The restraints of law furnish only an inadequate check to demoralization, thus the Commission expressed the opinion that :

“hope for the elevation of the native races must depend mainly on their acceptance of Christian faith and morals.”

(c) *Christian Example.*

“By admission to Christian households, and by the example of the uprightness and purity of many of those around them, a large number of Natives have doubtless been brought under improving influences, but to the Churches engaged in Mission work must be given the greater measure of credit for placing systematically before the Natives these higher standards of belief and conduct.”

The general conclusion of Sir Godfrey Lagden’s historic Commission upon the whole question of missionary work throughout South Africa is set forth in a single comprehensive and authoritative sentence :

“The Commission is satisfied that one great element for the civilization of the Natives is to be found in Christianity.”

There is one other criticism sometimes levelled against missionaries, namely, that they are so intent upon preaching that they leave to others the unpleasant and too often dangerous tasks of defending the African against his oppressors. If it is true that many a missionary has held his peace and is to-day holding his peace when voice and pen should have uttered indignant protest, it is equally true that in all missionary fields in Africa there have never been lacking missionaries who have risked everything, including life itself, in order to defend their native charges.

1. Who thundered against the operations of the British South Africa Company ?
The missionaries of the London Missionary Society.
2. Who defended the Basutos ?
The Paris missionaries.
3. Whom did the forces of oppression most fear in East Africa ?
Bishop Tucker.
4. To whom did the oppressed Zulus look in the day of extremity ?
The Colensos.
5. Who is never silent to-day when injustice occurs in West Africa ?
Bishop Tugwell.
6. Who laid bare the existence of Portuguese slavery ?
Messrs. Shindler, Swan, Bowskill, and their fellow missionaries.

7. Whose voices reached out from the depths of the Congo forests to the whole civilized world ?

The missionaries'.

What does Maurice Evans say upon this feature in South Africa ? Let those who give ear to criticism ponder the eloquent words of one whose authority none can challenge ; let those who care for the good name of the white race pause and consider the true import of this masterly statement :

“ One of the highest services rendered to the State by the missionaries must now be mentioned, and the more so because I have not heard it claimed by them, and it is certainly not recognized by the public. Underlying the evidence given by the natives before the Natal Native Commission was a feeling, not often directly expressed, but unquestionably ever present, of a shaken confidence in the desire of Europeans in general, and the Government in particular, for their well-being. The old faith in the good intentions of the Government, and their belief that it was animated by a desire to protect and help them, was seldom expressed with any real conviction. The rock in a thirsty land no longer gave shade to them.”

Who then appeared in the desert, becoming at once as a rock for shelter and rest, and as a spring of crystal water, as new life and hope ?

“ In a time when doubt as to our good intentions was rife, when confidence in our goodwill was shaken, the unselfishness and altruism of the missionary stood fast, as a pledge to the native that the white man still desired his good, still stood as a father to him, and that cash, or its value in material things, was not the only bond between black and white. A bulwark to a shattered and fast-disappearing faith were and are these men, and it is a service to the State and to their race which can hardly be too highly estimated.”

In the heart of Central Africa the missionaries had for nearly twenty years cried out for succour not for themselves but for the Africans in their charge. At last, driven by public pressure, King Leopold sent his own Commission to enquire, to him alone they reported, to him alone they told everything. Of the full story told to King Leopold by Mons. Jansenns, president of the Commission, only snatches have ever reached the public, but this was told to the King, these were the words written as with a finger of fire and written by his own appointed judge :

“ The native, instead of going to the magistrate, his natural protector, adopts the habit, when he thinks he has a grievance against an agent or an Executive officer, to confide in the missionary. The latter listens to him, helps him according to his means, and makes himself the echo of all the complaints of a region.

Hence the astounding influence which the missionaries possess in some parts of the territory. It exercises itself not only among the natives within the purview of their religious propaganda, but over all the villages whose troubles they have listened to. The missionary becomes, for the native of the region, the only representative of equity and justice."

Yes, in very truth, the Congo missionary from the bloody years of 1889-1910 was the only representative of equity and justice. In every land in Africa many a Christian missionary "has steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem" knowing full well that Calvary awaited him, but knowing also by the light within that beyond the cross of Calvary there lay an Easter morning for the African race.

PART VI

AFRICA OF TO-MORROW—THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

PART VI

AFRICA OF TO-MORROW—THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE Great War has shaken to its foundations the whole world, and Africa more, perhaps, than at any other period in the history of the continent. What of to-morrow for Africa and the African? Will the immediate effect be that of shattering at last the chains which have bound the African race, giving to the African the opportunity to develop to the full stature of manhood? The answer will come, whence alone it can come, from the Christian nations of the world.

The cardinal fact is that the Eternal Father of men "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." The life-stream of the whole human race is one, flowing from one source, flowing towards one goal, animated by one and the same desire for freedom and progress, impelled by one certain hope that justice will ultimately overcome all barriers erected by avarice, envy, prejudice and hatred. The African of one blood with the European and Asiatic claims, and rightly claims, his place as a free man—free to sell the labour of his hands to the highest bidder, free to till his own soil, free to multiply and replenish the earth, free to voice his opinions in

the religious, social and civic upbuilding of his own country.

The momentous event in the history of Africa is the League of Nations—momentous because it heralds a break in hoary political institutions and breathes into the continent the breath of a new life. True, the League of Nations Covenant is subject to geographical limitations, but the living principles which it enunciates will either shatter, or overflow, all arbitrary boundaries until their beneficent and healing influences reach the uttermost recesses of darkest Africa.

The League of Nations Covenant operates over the whole of the late German colonies in Africa, that is about 1,200,000 square miles, and affects some 12,000,000 African people. The main principles resemble so closely those of the Berlin Act that before many years have passed other vast tropical areas of Africa should be brought into harmony with the Covenant. But civilization cannot stop at that point, it must aim at bringing all areas *not colonizable* by the white races under the Covenant, that is, all those tropical and sub-tropical lands where industry and domestic life are only possible for the African race, and where white men and women can neither labour nor bring up their families. The foregoing represent to-day both the actual and the potential geographical boundaries of the League of Nations.

The principles laid down by the League of Nations are living principles capable of growth. The duty of maintaining and applying them belongs to the Mandatory Powers, but upon

civilization falls the task of watching the application and of fostering the growth of the institution.

The first principle of the Covenant now accepted by all the Powers is that of *Trusteeship*: The Covenant declares that "the well-being and development of the people concerned form a sacred trust of civilization," and for this purpose securities are being taken.

This comes under Article 22 and deals with relationship; it shatters the old idea of colonial "possessions"; it represents the antithesis of the old Spanish and Portuguese and the Chartered Company doctrines of colonial exploitation in the interest of the Metropolitan or Home Government. *Trusteeship* also spells a definite commitment to certain cardinal features of administrative evolution. *Trusteeship* means that the Government is to be in the interests of the governed; it means that when the ward has attained to manhood the trusteeship will be surrendered; it means that it is the prime duty of the trustee to so foster the growth of the ward that upon reaching the state of manhood the capacity to manage his own affairs will not be denied or questioned.

The formal declaration of *trusteeship* as the relationship between the European Mandatory and the subjects of the mandated area, introduces into Africa a new but perfectly clear constitutional doctrine, namely, that sovereignty is not vested in the Mandatory but reposes in the local inhabitants. In the course of time the prerogatives of sovereignty will be defined and presumably

invested formally in the local legislature ; but the principle of *trusteeship*, as laid down by the Peace Conference and the League of Nations Covenant, has terminated the pre-war conception that the prerogative of sovereignty reposed not in the inhabitants and people but in the Crown of the Protectorate Power. This doctrine may be contested in certain quarters, but the logic of it will prevail irresistibly.

It is vital to the African that none of the benefits are lost which should flow from this fundamental conception, and at the risk of repetition it is emphasized that to the people of Christendom the African race will look, rather than to governments, for maintaining, broadening and faithfully applying the principles to which the Powers at Versailles set their signatures.

The real problem of repairing the wastes of Africa and of winning backward areas for progress is that of grafting on to the African stock European and American life without destroying all that is best in the social, religious and industrial life of the African. How can modern governments remodel the land and judicial systems without destroying those of the indigenous African ? how can the missionary deal with age-long moral abuses without destroying customs which are veritable bulwarks to African hygiene and social order ? how can commerce pursue its healthy reciprocal process of taking from and putting into Africa wealth and prosperity without doing injustice to the African ? In short how can civilization give of its best to Africa and yet leave

the African in possession of his distinctive but purified nationality?—that is the real problem.

The first Article in the Administrative Faith of the League of Nations must be the antithesis of the Transvaal Grondwet. In every administrative Ordinance and action there must breathe the spirit that equality in Church, State, or Industry knows no bar reposing solely upon degrees of colour. This does not mean that no barriers are to be erected against the immediate flooding of public services by Africans regardless of their stage of social advancement. It does mean, and should mean, flinging widely open the doors of opportunity. It does mean, and should mean, the total abolition in the mandated areas of colour as of itself a bar to moral, economic and spiritual progress. It means, further, that in the mandated territories this, the last rampart of slavery, will be thrown down, never again to raise its hateful lineaments.

“Of one blood” hath He made “all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth.” This full brotherhood of man does not mean miscegenation which too frequently leads to domestic tragedy, but it does and should mean that if intimate companionship with African womanhood is good enough for the darkness of the night that same womanhood should be good enough for the hymeneal altar—Civilization cannot, Christianity must not, tolerate the untenable position that what is permissible in the shadows only becomes a wrong in the light. Womanhood regardless of colour, has the right to claim the seal and pro-

tection of public union as an integral part of sexual companionship.

If trusteeship is the basis of national relationship, and no colour bar the fundamental article of administrative faith, the first stone in the African social and economic structure is a right solution of the land question. The mandated areas being for the major part unsuited to European and American colonization, the economic stability is thus inherent in native industry which, in turn, reposes upon security and adequacy of land tenure. It is not only in the mandated territories that these principles apply, but throughout the African continent in a varying intensity of degree—absolutely throughout the tropical and semi-tropical regions and in relative proportions according to distance from the equatorial line.

The indigenous African system of secure tribal ownership is quite the best; but the inroads of the concessionaire, the influx of white men and the over hasty introduction of European land laws have made the retention of the native system almost, although not quite, impossible. Without delay the Mandatory trustees should set an example by declaring that land not already alienated is inalienable, next that all native inhabitants in beneficial occupation of land should be given secure tribal title to the lands they occupy, including kraals, gardens, forests and hunting grounds.

White immigrant cultivators of the soil are not needed, for their only object is that of getting land they cannot till, and then they demand for

their own purposes the native labour forces which could be more economically employed in native production. But to conform to those exceptional cases to a general rule, leases, subject to periodical review, might be granted to approved white immigrants.

The question now emerges as to those areas where white laws and immigrations have destroyed the native systems beyond redemption. In these areas native reserves of demonstrable suitability and of adequate acreage should be officially allotted to the tribes in a title absolutely secure from abrogation. Once such reserves have been officially delimited they should never be reduced except for indispensable works of public utility, and then only upon the same conditions as those applying to the alienation of lands occupied by immigrants or settlers.

This solution of the land problem will bear any test to which it is subjected. The ethical test is satisfied by the fact that, so far as possible, civilization would recognize legitimate native land rights. The economic test is met by tabulated statistics in several African territories, which demonstrate that adequate and secure native tenure of land spells an ever-increasing volume of commerce and constantly improving vital statistics, whereas in those territories where limited and insecure tenure exists the volume of commerce is negligible and the vitality and density of the population is relatively low. The administrative test finds its answer in that to which most governments ardently aspire—peace and contentment amongst

the governed and an ever-increasing and easy supply of revenue.

There is but one solution for the African labour problem, that is, by civil contract between employer and employed. The League of Nations must secure in the mandated areas an early abolition of slave-owning, slave-trading, forced labour and all those forms of contract labour which violate the principle of civil agreement. The establishment of great areas in Africa where forced labour is prohibited, and where civil contract alone is permitted, will immediately lead to a free current of labour towards all such areas and away from the centres of fraud and oppression. In areas outside the mandated territories there exists to-day slave-owning and slave-trading affecting 250,000 certainly, but probably more than 400,000 men and women ; there exist to-day fraudulent and oppressive systems affecting another 250,000 at least ; there exist to-day disqualifications reposing solely upon colour affecting millions—probably 10,000,000. Civilization as a whole, but more particularly the forces of the Christian Church, cannot rest until freedom and equality of opportunity have been established for the African race in African industry.

To reduce the foregoing principles to practical application the following are essential, apart altogether from the general prohibitions of fraudulent practices and other exercise of force. The pawning of persons must be abolished. The assignment of powers held by chiefs for calling out labour must be made illegal. All voluntary

labour must be paid in cash direct to the labourer, taxation discriminating between the natives engaged in native industry and those employed by white men, must be forbidden. No single labour contract exceeding a period of six months should be made, and at the termination of such the labourer should be free to offer his services to any other employer. All labour contracts made with illiterate employees should be submitted to a magistrate or other duly-appointed administrative official. No cash advances should be made to labourers involving them in registered debt, either upon recruitment or during the period of the contract.

In no sphere is the principle of trusteeship, as laid down by the League of Nations Covenant, more potent for good than in that of commerce and industry. Africa of the League of Nations, Africa of to-morrow, must be free in commerce. One of the elemental functions of a trustee is that of seeking the best and most economic market for his ward, the expenditure of the ward's assets upon purchases and the disposal of the ward's goods to the best advantage. Trusteeship precludes transactions in the beneficial interest of the trustee; in the building of a railway, for example, the decisive factor in accepting any tender should be the standard of efficiency and economy, and never the financial interest of the Mandatory Power—to make the decisive factor a perquisite of the Mandatory is to convert the Mandatory authority into the practice of a fraudulent trusteeship.

In the purely commercial sphere the same principles hold good : the trustee cannot, without violating the principles of trusteeship, impose tariffs upon the ward, either in imports or exports, in the interest of the Mandatory's own subjects or industries. The African ward is entitled to expect that the entrance door and exit of his territory will be open to all nations upon equal terms. If Switzerland should, at a later date, accept a mandate, it would be perfectly indefensible for the Geneva Government to impose an export tax on cocoa beans with a rebate on exports shipped to Switzerland because that process would restrict the market for the African ward's produce and thereby depress prices. In commerce and industry the arena must be kept free from discriminating import dues and chiefest of all from beneficial favours in the interests of the Mandatory trustee. These principles must apply *now* to the mandated areas, and to-morrow they must be made to apply to every "Protectorate" in the African continent—any other course comes perilously near to national exploitation of the African.

The edifice of a new Africa, whose foundations are truly laid upon the corner-stones of freedom and brotherhood, will only be complete if cemented together by civic liberty and crowned by the glory of true education and by the glory of a sincere religious faith. The first element in the super-structure is franchise. The presence of the European in Africa to-day is, we are told, due to hundreds of political instruments drafted, amended,

and formally accepted by African rulers and councils. For the purpose of signing these documents European statesmen have invariably declared that Africans were in every case competent to arrive at decisions of far-reaching political importance. It is surely untenable for these same European statesmen now to deny the competence of Africans to consider, amend and agree to political and administrative instruments of relatively unimportant administrative value !

Let it be admitted that the institution of European governmental systems preclude the useful attendance of illiterate chiefs, but as the advertised *raison d'être* for the presence of Europeans and Americans in Africa is that of uplifting the inhabitants, the only question is the period at which this elevating process reaches the stage of enfranchisement. It is held very widely that this stage has already been reached in several parts of Africa. To-day the franchise is accorded upon condition, only in the Cape and certain limited areas in French Senegambia. Upon the principle of the single Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man franchise can never become a question of colour degrees, but only of social and educational advancement. In Cape Colony a property and educational test is applied. Africa of to-morrow might well adopt the policy of Cecil Rhodes, "equal rights for all civilized men." The difficulty is, of course, that of defining the word "civilized." It may be doubted whether the possession of property is evidence of being "civilized," for it might as easily be the hall-mark

of Cain or of Charles Peace ! An educational standard is certainly evidence of a measure of civilization, minimum income from industry is also evidence of service to the community, freedom from criminal convictions is presumptive evidence of moral tone. If an African can pass these tests he is not merely capable of expressing an opinion upon legislation, but evinces a higher level of civilization than thousands of white men who control to-day the destinies of the African. More than these three tests ought not to be demanded of the African. When these three tests can be met European administrations only delay enfranchisement at the peril of upholding flagrant injustice.

The African race is entitled to look to the League of Nations and the Protecting Powers for full educational opportunities. There are three elemental features in a just educational policy : first, that educational grants should everywhere bear a reasonable proportion to total revenue—to-day the educational grants are almost everywhere negligible, the African administrations of to-morrow must change all this or surrender their trusteeship to more faithful stewards ; the second is, that every African is entitled to free elementary education ; and the third elemental is, that no branch of educational science should be denied to the sons and daughters of Africa.

The final glory reserved for the African race of to-morrow should be the extension of the utmost freedom and the warmest encouragement to accept the Christian faith. Freedom from

penalties and disabilities ; encouragement not to lip-adherence, but to the purified life of a new creation. To this end administrations should encourage missionary forces to enter fields untouched by the Gospel and look with approving eye upon those officials who glory in setting forth at all times the example of lofty Christian principles. By this means the three million African Christians of to-day will become the hundred millions of to-morrow, and take their place amongst the foremost nations of Christendom.

Thus the main features of the new Africa should be, whether within or without the mandated areas :

Relationship to
European or
American Powers - Trusteeship.

Fundamental article of Administra-

tive policy	- No colour bar.
Sovereignty	- Vested in the inhabitants.
Land Policy	- Secure and adequate tenure for every native tribe.
Labour Policy	- Complete freedom of contract.
Commercial Policy	- No discriminating barriers reposing upon race or colour.
Franchise Policy	- "Equal rights for all civil- ized men."
Education Policy	- Elemental for all and open door for the highest.

Religious Policy - Freedom for missionaries ;
by example and precept
encouragement to Chris-
tian faith.

This policy of nine points applied to Africa would sweep away the miasma of injustice which is everywhere afflicting relationships and retarding progress, and would give to the "Dark Continent" the very breath of a new life, and by conferring such blessings upon Africa the whole world would itself be blessed.

INDEX.

PAGE	PAGE		
Ahyssinia, Conditions in	17	Education	171-87
Albert King, Visit to the Congo ..	79	" value of	17
Alcohol, Problems stated ..	145-53	" South Africa	173
" Sir Hugh Clifford on ..	146	" Mohammedan ..	177-78
" Mr. Schumacher on ..	146	" Grants	182-5
" Sir Harry Johnston on ..	148	" Sir Hugh Clifford's	
and the Colour line ..	151	proposals	184
Area, Africa in miles	3	Eliot, Sir Charles, on Christian	
Atrocities, Congo	86	Missions	218
" French Congo	86	Evans, Maurice, on Christian	
Basel Mission, The	198	Missions	219
Borfimah fetish	204	Flogging on the Congo	86
Bryce, Lord, on Christian Mis-		Franchise, Qualification for	239
sions	220	Fulani, The	4-5
Burrows, Dr., on Secret Societies ..	206	Gold, African sources of	50
Burtt, Joseph, on Portuguese		Gold Mines, depth of	53
Slavery	89	Gold output	50-4
Bushmen	4-5	Gold winning	51
Calvert, A. E., on Diamond out-		Haig, Sir Douglas, and Palm	
put	42	products	28
Carriers	10	Half-castes, "Prejudice against" ..	55
Casement's Report	76	Harding, Col. Colin, on Portu-	
Chaplain, Sir Drummond	53	guese Slavery	89
Christianity in Africa	202-25	Hausa, The	4-5
Do., Critics answered	215	Havilah identified	49
Do., Statistics	202-13-14	Hopkins, Consul	6
Cocoa, History of	31	Hottentots	4-5
Cultivation	32, 36, 38	Indolence	8
" Production	9	Indian Immigration	94-104
Colour Bar, Abolition of	233	India Office and Immigration ..	95
Columbus, the Discoverer of		Industrial Missions	188-201
Rubber	34	Do. Merchants' criticism	190
Congo, System of exploitation ..	79-86	Do. Basel	198
" Rubber and Ivory	80	Jagersfontein Diamonds	42
" Crime admitted	86	Johannesburg Gold output	54
" Flogging	86	Kamerun Post on Forced Labour ..	74
Contract, Labour	87-104	Keane, Prof., quoted	5
Limitations	237	Do. on Rhodesian ruins	49
Copra, Production	28	Kenia, Mt	4
Cotton seed	30	Kilmanjaro Mt	4
Conquest and the British Con-		Kimberley Diamonds	42
stitution	137	King Solomon's Gold	45
Cortes	34	Kirk, Sir John, on Indian Im-	
Cripps, Rev. Shearly, on Rho-		migration	95
desian expropriation	140	Labour systems	62
David, King	25	Labour wages, Natives	53
Dependencies, Lord Halsbury's		" Whites	53
definition of	22	Labour, Shortage of	60
Dennett, R. E., on Secret		Do. Forced	69
Societies	209-10	Do. in British territories	71
Denton, Sir Geo., and Nigerian		Do. for private profit	72
rubber	34		
Domestic Slavery	63		

PAGE	PAGE		
Labour in Rhodesia	25	Palms, Cocoanut and Oil	25
Lagden Commission, on the In- dolence	8	Pharoah, Necho	25
Land problems.....	107	Phthisis, Miners'	51
Hybrid tenures..	109	Polygamy : the Problem stated	154-68
Do. Sir Harry Johnston's solution	109-27	Do. Scriptural warrant	155
Do. General Botha's solu- tion	109-11	Do. Mary Kinsley on	157
Do. Sir Godfrey Lagden....	110	Do. Morel, E. D., on	157
Do. South Africa.....	112	Do. Dr. Blyden on	159
Do. Sir W. Beaumont's Re- port.....	113	Do. Evans, Maurice, on	162
Do. Swaziland Concessions	120	Population of Africa.....	3
Do. Basutoland	122	Do. Decrease	59
Do. Sir H. Sloley.....	123	Do. Causes of decrease.....	60
Do. African.....	107-42	Portuguese Slavery	87-101
Do. East African Expro- priation	124-8	Do. Hospitality	88
Do. Northern Nigerian	130	Do. British Alliance.....	93
Do. Rhodesian Expropria- tion	133-42	Protectorate, Definition of	23
League of Nations, Obligations in Africa	230	Rhodesian Land expropriation	133
Leopard Society.....	204-6	Reserves Commission	39
Leopold, King, and Congo Rub- ber	34	Rubber Cultivation	33-4
Do. His Commission of In- quiry	80-6	Ruwenzori, Mt.	4
Liberia, Conditions in	15	Salisbury's, Lord, Declaration on Indian immigration	95
Lippert Land Concession, Ju- dicial Committee's "Judg- ment"	136-7	Secret Societies	204-6
Margarine, sources of	30	Sexual Abuses	164-8
Markham, Violet, on Christian Missions	218	Shackles, Portuguese	90
Martin, Sir Richard, Rhodesian Inquiry	73	Sheba, Queen of, African Journey	49
Maciver, Dr. Randall, Rhodesian ruins	49	Skeletons, Slave	91
Milner, Lord, on Indian Immi- gration	97	Slaves, Death Rates	92
Menelik, The late Emperor.....	17	Slavery in Yucatan	35
Merewether, Sir E., on Secret Societies	206	" Domestic	63-8
Monkey Nut, The	30	" House	64
Montesuma's Cocoa supply	32	" in Congo	76
Morel, E. D., on Congo question ..	77	Slaves, East African	67
Mohammedanism, Strength of ..	212-4	" Prices of	9
Nevinson, H. W., on Portuguese Slavery	89	Soapstone Birds	48
Do. on Christian Missions ..	216-7	Solomon's Gold, King	46
Nigerian Land system	130	Somali, The	4
Ophir identified	49	South African Constitution	4

